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ABSTRACT

This document presents testimony regarding the impact of violence on children. The opening statement of Senator Dodd discusses the exposure of American children to violence and notes the Senator's introduction of the "Child and Family Services and Law Enforcement Partnership Act," an act proposed to provide children exposed to violence with immediate assessment and intervention by child mental health professionals and to augment community policing efforts by providing training for law enforcement in child, family, and cultural issues. Testimonies are provided by: (1) Brandon Green, a 7-year-old boy who had recently witnessed a murder; (2) Liany Elba Arroyo, a 16-year-old girl who is working with a group of friends to curb violence in her community; (3) Carmen Siberon, director of Case Management for Bridgeport (Connecticut) Futures Initiatives, a community partnership that administers programs for high-risk youth; (4) Wayne Meyers, a shooting victim who is wheelchair-bound and a member of the P.O.W.E.R. (People Opening the World's Eyes to Reality) Group; (5) Byrl Phillips-Taylor, a mother whose adolescent son was shot and killed by a classmate; (6) Megan McGillicuddy and Tiffany Cruz, fifth graders from a school where the principal was gunned down; (7) Deborah Prothrow-Stith, assistant dean of the Office of Government and Community Programs, and director of Violence Abuse Programs, Injury Control Center, School of Public Health, Harvard University; (8) Joseph E. Marshall, Jr.; codirector of Omega Boys Club; (9) Ron Fox, member of Omega Boys Club; (10) John S. Pritchard, III, first deputy police commissioner of the New York Police Department and national vice-president/president-elect of the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives; (11) David E. A. Carson, chief executive officer of People's Bank in Bridgeport, Connecticut; and (12) Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund. Additional materials are appended. (NB)

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ED 360 587

S. Hrg. 103-28

# KEEPING EVERY CHILD SAFE: CURBING THE EPIDEMIC OF VIOLENCE

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## JOINT HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, FAMILY, DRUGS AND ALCOHOLISM

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES
UNITED STATES SENATE

AND THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES

OF THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF VIOLENCE ON CHILDREN, AND ON PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO PROVIDE CHILDREN EXPOSED TO VIOLENCE WITH IMMEDIATE ASSESSMENT AND INTERVENTION BY CHILD MENTAL HEALTH PROFESSIONALS, AND TO PROVIDE TRAINING FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT IN CHILD, FAMILY AND CULTURAL ISSUES

MARCH 10, 1993

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# KEEPING EVERY CHILD SAFE: CURBING THE EPIDEMIC OF VIOLENCE

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WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10, 1993

U.S. Senate,
Subcommittee on Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism,
of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources,
and House of Representatives,
Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families,
*Washington, DC.*

The joint committees met, pursuant to notice, at 9:40 a.m., in room SH–216, Hart Senate Office Building, Senator Christopher J. Dodd (chairman of the subcommittee) and Representative Patricia Schroeder (chairman of the select committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Dodd, Pell, Kassebaum, and Thurmond.

Also Present: Representatives Schroeder, Sarpalius, Waters, and Major Owens.

## OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR DODD

Senator Dodd. The subcommittee will come to order.

I'd like to welcome everyone here this morning for a first-time experience—a joint hearing this morning of the Senate Subcommittee on Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism, and the House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families.

This is the first time we have held a joint hearing, unfortunately. We should have gotten together more often, because there are so many issues we have worked on in common, and yet we have not had the opportunity to gather together jointly to engage in discussion of important issues facing this country, not the least of which, of course, are children's issues.

The subject of this morning's hearing is "Keeping Every Child Safe: Curbing the Epidemic of Violence." Violence is indeed an epidemic in this country. The United States now has the dubious distinction of being number one among industrialized nations, not for our gross national product, not for our educational system nor our science and math acumen, not for the health of our mothers and newborns, but rather, we rank number one among all industrialized nations for our homicide rate.

Too often these days, our communities seem to resemble the Wild West, where guns, shootouts and vigilante justice were commonplace. To our horror, however, the image today frequently has a new and perverse twist. Children carry the guns—not six-shooters, but high-powered assault rifles—teen gangs carry out vigilante justice with shootouts in parks where children once played peacefully on merry-go-rounds.

Homicide rates for children and youth have doubled since 1950. Firearm homicide is the second leading cause of death for teens 15 to 19 years of age. For young black males and females, homicide is the primary cause of death. Today, however, we want to emphasize that race is not the reason for these differential death rates. One of the primary reasons is poverty.

But we also do not want to simplistically categorize violence as a problem of social class or inner cities. Today we want to establish that violence is America's problem. From affluent suburbs to inner city streets, violence knows no social, economic, racial or geographic boundaries. Teenage girls are forming gangs, becoming perpetrators, erasing gender differences, and lending new meaning to the term, "equal opportunity."

In my State of Connecticut, teen violent death increased by nearly 50 percent in 5 years. Victims and perpetrators keep getting younger. In a one-week period recently, two children from a Bridgeport elementary school were murdered.

At this time in our history, America is an extremely violent country, and increasingly, children are paying the price. Teens are more than twice as likely as adults to be victims of violent crime. Nearly 3 million crimes occur on or near school campuses every year—one every six seconds. In one Chicago public housing project, all of the children had witnessed a shooting by the age of 5.

This exposure of American children to violence results in virtually the same symptoms seen in children living in war-torn countries such as Nicaragua, Northern Ireland, and Cambodia. Such children show symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder, first identified in Vietnam veterans—sleep disturbance, a tendency to startle easily, daydreaming—symptoms that interfere with normal development and school concentration.

For children living in constant danger, perhaps the most poignant symptom is a diminished ability to imagine a future. Children who believe they will not live to be adults do not dream about "what I want to be when I grow up." Their dreams instead are nightmares, images of terror—guns exploding, bloody wounds, dying friends. And a youth who has no belief in the future has absolutely no reason to care about what happens in the present, to himself or to others. This finding alone should send shock waves through our country, moving us, I would hope, to action.

Violence has multiple causes. We cannot attack all of them at once, unfortunately. Congress alone cannot change society nor legislate violence out of existence. It will take each and every one of us, working in our homes, our communities, our neighborhoods, our States, at the Federal level, to revolutionize society's relationship to violence. But because we cannot solve the problem overnight is no excuse not to begin.

We must not shrink from taking any action that might contribute to a long-term solution. We must attack poverty at its roots by providing full funding for Head Start, jobs for youth, educational reform, and child care for working parents. But we must also address the immediate effects on children.

Today I will be introducing the "Child and Family Services and Law Enforcement Partnership Act." This is based on a model partnership developed in Connecticut between the Yale Child Study Center and the New Haven Police Department. The Act will provide children exposed to violence with immediate assessment and intervention by child mental health professionals. It will augment community policing efforts by providing training for law enforcement in child, family, and cultural issues.

Perhaps most significant is the creation of a coalition between law enforcement and child and family services. Additional funding for mentoring and conflict resolution encourages further collaboration with schools, corporations, labor unions, and other community groups.

I firmly believe that such collaboration must begin if violence is to end. We must not point fingers of blame, push others aside, nor complain that one group just doesn't understand; for when we do, we are perpetuating the divisive attitudes we see carried to extremes by rival gang members—the belief in "us" versus "them." We must learn to cooperate, to listen to one another, to build peaceful coalitions. For how do we dare demand of our children what we ourselves cannot accomplish?

Above all, we must listen to what young people are saying about how we stop violence. We have a golden opportunity this morning to listen and to listen very, very carefully. We must hear the words, we must feel their pain and sense their helplessness, until we see in their faces not the reflection of violence, but the images of healing.

I am pleased this morning to be joined by the chairperson of the Select Committee on Children and Families in the House, the Congresswoman from Colorado, Pat Schroeder and several of her colleagues, and of course, Senator Nancy Kassebaum from Kansas, my colleague.

Paul Wellstone, my colleague on the subcommittee, had planned to be with us here this morning, but an emergency back in his State of Minnesota has required him to be there unexpectedly. But he obviously, as many of you know, cares deeply about these issues and will submit a formal statement for the record and, of course, will be involved with us as we pursue various ideas to deal with this problem.

[The prepared statement of Senator Wellstone follows:]

### PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR WELLSTONE

Chairman Dodd and Chairwoman Schroeder, I would like to thank you for convening this hearing for a discussion of the epidemic of violence against the children in this country. I also want to commend Chairman Dodd for introducing the Child and Family Services and Law Enforcement Partnership Act. I join him in support of this legislation as an important step toward preventing violence in our communities.

I am pleased to see we will hear from a panel made up of children whose voices we do not hear nearly enough. I've been personally shocked at some of the stories I've heard from the children in Minnesota. Just a few weeks ago I met with runaway kids many of whom fled from violent homes only to encounter violent streets.

They expressed frustration and anger at being ignored and abandoned by society. Some of the testimony today will echo the same feelings.

I am appalled that a child of 7 years old, our first witness Brandon Green, has to testify about his experience of violence to shock us into action. And, I am appalled that fifth graders like Meagan McGillicuddy and Tiffany Crystal Cruz must tell us how afraid they are to go to school since their principal was shot. We must do everything in our power to make sure our children live in save communities where they can live, learn and be kids.

How can we expect America's children to learn in an environment where their classmates are carrying weapons? How can we expect children to resolve disputes peacefully when they see their mothers, fathers, and friends settling disagreements with violence? How can we expect children to develop a sense of dignity and self-worth when they are treated as though they are worthless?

Must we always depend on the tireless efforts of people like Marian Wright Edelman and our other panelists to fill the gaps left by an unresponsive government? I hope not. I hope this hearing opens the eyes and the ears of the Members of Congress and the public to the needs of the children who are victimized every day by the violence in our communities. I look forward to working with the committee members and others in efforts to make our children feel safe in their homes, their schools, and their communities. Thank you.

Senator DODD. Let me first of all turn to my colleague and friend from the House, Pat Schroeder, and thank her for her cooperation and her efforts on so many other issues that we have worked on together, not the least of which was the recent signing of the family and medical leave legislation in which she played a major and crucial role.

## OPENING STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE SCHROEDER

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you, Senator Dodd. I really want to thank you very much and I certainly hope we get action on violence a lot faster than we got it on family leave. But I am ready to stay in there as long as it takes.

Senator Dodd, thank you for all of the long, long hours that you have put in on issues about children and families. To me, this is a very exciting hearing because rarely—rarely—does Congress listen to our young people, and today we are going to be hearing their voices. And I hope we all sit up and listen, and listen really well, because these children are not getting subtle messages; they are getting very, very heavy messages about violence in our society.

Think about it. Today, if it is an average day, 40 children in America will be injured or killed by guns. Today, in one hour, 2,000 children will be attacked in school. Now, that is unbelievable. Where are the violence-free zones and the safe harbors for children?

When you listen to young people's language or their rap music, you will find as many as 25 different words being used to talk about being beat up or being hurt. It is becoming so commonplace that it has become part of the language.

I am very troubled when I see school superintendents in America now applying for burial insurance for children as part of their school package. I hope we don't concede; I hope we don't surrender to violence.

I am very optimistic we may now have an attorney general that is interested in prevention strategies, which I think is where we have to go—violence prevention strategies every way we can, and finding ways that we can reclaim areas for our young people so that they do have somewhere they can go and not be subjected to this, and for all the rest of society, too.

I am going to put my formal statement in the record because I am anxious to hear the young people who are here today. I also want to salute Marian Wright Edelman, who has been out there talking about this issue for so long and was one of the instigators of this hearing. So we are going to hear from her, too. She may look like an adult, but she is a child at heart, and she never forgets them, 24 hours a day.

So thank you for calling this hearing, and let us hope we have awakened and smelled the gun smoke and that we are going to finally clear the air.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mrs. Schroeder follows:]

## PREPARED STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE SCHROEDER

Today, the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families continues its work on violence to and among our Nation's children, and to urge solutions to this epidemic of death, injury, hostility, and fear.

I am pleased to join Senator Dodd, a longtime leader in the effort to improve children's lives in Connecticut and throughout the Nation, in convening this important joint hearing, and look forward to working with him and others in Congress to ensure that violence prevention strategies get the attention they deserve.

Violence represents an immediate, pervasive threat to every American child. Each day in the United States, 40 children are killed or injured by guns.

Even schools provide no safe haven. Each day, 100,000 children carry guns to school and every hour, 2,000 students are physically attacked on school grounds

Over the past decade, the average age of both homicide offenders and victims has grown younger. Hospital trauma centers, schools, and law enforcement agencies note disturbing trends in the seriousness of violent acts, availability of weapons, and youthfulness of victims, survivors and aggressors.

In one city, the homicide rate among children is so high that the school superintendent has asked the school district to purchase life insurance for all students to help pay for burial costs. Still too often viewed as an urban problem, violence increasingly endangers youth in suburban and higher-income communities.

That we live in a society that permits widespread violence to children will surprise few, but it ought to offend everyone. In America, by age 7, a child can witness a murder while having a snack in a public restaurant, have his bicycle forcibly stolen from him, and fear that drug dealers will impede his path to adulthood.

Brandon Green is here to tell that story. Other children, parents, teachers and youth workers will tell their stories of loss and victimization by violence by and against children where they live, where they go to school, and where they play.

These personal accounts of violent pain and death to young people are echoed by millions of Americans who have been affected by the death, injury, or threat of violence to someone close to them. The message throughout the Nation is clear: We must make violence prevention a national priority. The violence must end.

Our witnesses will make the case for a variety of educational, legal, and health strategies that can reduce violence. Proposals to ensure safe schools and communities through increased school and neighborhood security, conflict resolution, community policing, teacher and student education, gun control, gang diversion programs deserve serious consideration and action.

Violence, however, is not an isolated issue. We must also address economic issues, media messages, child abuse, and other factors that contribute to violence. To reclaim our children and communities we must ensure that young people have positive role models, and realistic education and employment alternatives. We must support, in word and deed, family supports that can strengthen families and communities, including the provision of home visiting to keep children safe from abuse which can increase the likelihood of later criminal activity. Prisons and cemeteries cannot hold all our young people, nor should we tolerate those as primary solutions. We must make the needed investment to save lives and dollars from the nightmare of violence.

I welcome all of our witnesses. I am extremely pleased that Marian Wright Edelman, President of the Children's Defense Fund, is here to help focus our energies on ridding our communities of violence. I urge not only Members of Congress, but all Americans, to listen closely to testimony today and to join us in working toward an end to the devastation of violence.

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## KEEPING EVERY CHILD SAFE: CURBING THE EPIDEMIC OF VIOLENCE

### A FACT SHEET

*Youth face increasingly high risk of death, injury*

–In 1989, homicide was the third leading cause of death among children ages 5–14, and the second leading cause of death in the 15–24 age group. From 1979 to 1989, the firearm homicide rate for persons 15–19 increased 61%. (Health United States [HUS], 1991; Fingerhut, et al., 1992)

–Between 1985 and 1989, the age-adjusted homicide rate increased 74% for African-American males ages 15–34, making it the leading cause of death for this group. In 1989, the age-adjusted homicide rate for African-American males ages 15–24 was almost nine times that for whites. (HUS, 1991)

–Male youth in the U.S. are more than five times as likely to be victims of homicide as youth in many other developed countries. (Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, 1990)

In a 1990 national survey, nearly 8% of all students in grades 9–12 (12.2% for males and 3.6% for females) reported that, during the 30 days preceding the survey, they had been in at least one physical fight that resulted in an injury requiring treatment by a doctor or nurse. (Center for Disease Control [CDC], 1992)

*Young children witness, participate in violence*

–In surveys of New Orleans, LA, and Washington, DC, inner-city children ages 6–10, over 90% had witnessed some type of violence. Thirty-seven percent had witnessed severe violence, almost 40% had seen dead bodies, and over 70% had witnessed weapons being used. Thirty to 40% of the New Orleans children and 15–20% of the Washington, DC, children said they worried about being safe. (Richters and Martinez, 1992; Osofsky, et al., 1992)

–Of 2,016 weapons brought to Virginia schools during the 1991–92 school year, 853 involved middle school students, compared with 748 which involved high school students. (Virginia Department of Education, 1993)

–Fifty-four percent of middle school and 56% of elementary school principals report more violent acts in their schools than 5 years ago. (*The Executive Educator*, 1993)

*Youth disproportionate victims of violent crime*

–Children and youth ages 12 to 24 face the highest risk of nonfatal violent victimization of any segment of society. The assault rate alone was 44 times greater for youth ages 16 to 19 than for the elderly (79.2 per 1,000 persons age 16 to 19 compared with 1.8 per 1,000 persons 65 or older). (Rosenberg, 1992; BJS, 1992)

–In 1991, the overall victimization rate for crimes of violence was nearly 16 times higher for those under age 25 than for persons age 65 or older (64.6 versus 4 victimizations per 1,000 persons in each age group). (Bureau of Justice Statistics [BJS], 1993)

*Schools increasingly dangerous place for children, teachers*

–Each day, 100,000 children carry guns to school. In a national survey, 20% of all students in grades 9–12 reported that they had carried a weapon at least once during the preceding 30 days. (Department of Justice [DOJ], 1993; CDC, 1991)

–Every hour, 900 teachers are threatened, nearly 40 teachers are physically attacked, and over 2,000 students are physically attacked on school grounds. (DOJ, 1993)

*Youth commit high rate of violent crime*

–In 1990, the United States experienced its highest juvenile violent crime arrest rate (430 per 100,000 juveniles), up 27% since 1980. During the 1980s, the white juvenile violent crime arrest rate increased 44%, compared with a 19% increase for African-American youth, and a 53% decrease for others. (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 1993)

–During the 1980s, youth between the ages of 12 and 24 committed more than 48,000 homicides, and during 1989, nearly half of about 4.2 million nonfatal violent crimes. Between 1965 and 1990, juvenile arrests for murder increased 332% (from 2.8 per 100,000 to 12.1 per 100,000). (Rosenberg, 1992; FBI, 1992)

*Urban youth at greater risk of violence, but nonurban youth also at risk*

–The 1989 firearm homicide rate in metropolitan counties for persons 15 to 19 years of age was nearly five times the rate in nonmetropolitan counties. The nonfirearm homicide rate for urban areas was 1.4 times the rate in nonmetropolitan counties. (Fingerhut, et al., 1992)

–In a survey of inner-city and middle-to-upper income youth, 42% of inner-city males reported that their lives had been threatened, compared with 18% of middle-to-upper income males. While 67% of inner-city adolescents knew someone who had been assaulted, so did 25% of youth in the middle-to-upper income group. (Gladstein, et al., 1992)

–Gangs were once a problem of primarily large urban areas; today gangs exist in cities with populations as small as 8,000. (Congressional Research Service, 1992)

*Firearms easily obtained, involved in most deadly violence*

–Every day, 40 children are killed or injured by guns. (DOJ, 1993)

–In 1990, nearly three of every four youthful murderers used a firearm. A 79% increase in the number of juveniles committing murder with guns was reported over the past decade. (FBI, 1993; FBI 1992)

–A Baltimore, MD, hospital experienced a sharp increase in the admission of pediatric gunshot victims, from five in 1986 to 26 in 1991. Twenty-two victims were admitted in the first half of 1992. (Nichols, 1992)

–In a survey of Seattle, WA, high school students, 34% of the students reported easy access to handguns and 6.4% reported owning a handgun. (Callahan and Rivara, 1992)

*Violence costs society billions*

–Taxpayers spend $1.7 billion annually to house incarcerated youth, at an average annual per-resident cost of $29,600. (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1992)

**–Nationally, total health care costs because of criminal violence were estimated to be more than $3.5 billion, with $1.5 billion resulting from firearms. (Billings and Teicholz, 1991)**

**–In a study based on 1985 data, interpersonal violence was estimated to account for 14% of all injury deaths at an estimated annual cost of $10.9 billion. (Rice, et al., 1989)**

**–Washington, DC, hospitals spend at least $20.4 million a year treating victims of shootings, stabbings, and other crimes. If health care expenses after leaving the hospital are included, the costs would increase to $40 million. (Billings and Teicholz, 1991)**

Senator DODD. Senator Kassebaum.

## OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR KASSEBAUM

Senator KASSEBAUM. Mr. Chairman, we have some very interesting panels to testify here today.

But I would just add that as we are gathered together here, because we are all concerned about the violence that has become so pervasive in our society today. As the violence continues, and as our children are fearful of going to school, are fearful of playing outside, and are wondering what their future holds, this fear diminishes us all.

I am just as confused as you are about ways that we can end this, and the various strategies that will help. But we can't necessarily legislate an end to violence. And as Congresswoman Schroeder has said, it is going to take preventive strategies that work.

In trying to combat the overwhelming level of violence, there really seem to be few answers. We have looked at suggestions that the media be censored, and tried boycotts of television advertisers. Yet television and the movies are very consumer-conscious, and if people would not watch the violent TV shows and movies, then they won't produce those types of programs.

I am concerned that there is a glorification of violence today. There are sexual innuendos in cartoon programs as well as in the evening shows. How do we address this? How can peer pressure somehow withstand the glamorization of violence today?

There are some very disturbing questions before us that we have to answer. I certainly believe that we need to do all we can, and I think President Clinton addressed this very eloquently throughout his campaign, when he talked about renewing the community strength. If it doesn't come there, it won't come anywhere else. And we have to help by providing communities with some tools to accomplish that, whether it is community policy, gun control, social service programs—these are things that we do that can help build a support system. But there has to be a dedication that arises from the community, that our block is going to be protected, and our young people do matter.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator DODD. Thank you.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Chairman, let me call on Mr. Sarpalius of Texas, who has been out front on this issue and a very, very effective member of our committee.

## OPENING STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE SARPALIUS

Mr. Sarpalius. Thank you.

I too want to commend both of our chairmen today for calling this hearing. This problem is very unique in that it is not isolated in one part of our country. I represent a rural district in Texas, 38 rural counties. Just last fall, in Amarillo, TX, a student in the hallway after a pep rally pulled a gun out and shot six students. It was a story that made the network news on every channel.

Two months ago, on the other end of my district, in Wichita Falls, a small rural town, a 14 year-old boy was walking to a convenience store and was shot in the back in a driveby shooting. It was an incident that will affect that boy for the rest of his life. Fortunately, he wasn't hurt severely.

These are serious problems that are facing our young people today and I think we need to look at where the problems occur and what the solutions are. I have been to many Federal prisons and State prisons, and I have asked those inmates: Have any of you ever served in a juvenile detention facility? Nearly 80 to 90 percent of them will raise their hands.

Many juvenile records today are sealed. There is no question that we are doing a poor job, in my opinion, of trying to rehabilitate juveniles when they first get in trouble on a State level. Look at the influence that many young people have today from television and movies. Their heroes today are Arnold Schwarzenegger, Sylvester Stallone, Clint Eastwood, the Ninja Turtles—and you can go on and on.

I think we need to do as much as we can to listen to these young people today, but at the same time as we are listening, be open for suggestions and solutions and ideas of what we can do to try to help make this country a better place to live for our children.

I am a product of just what I am talking about. I grew up in a boys' home, Cal Farley's Boys' Ranch just north of Amarillo, TX. I lived in a home with kids who had committed many violent crimes. I was never convicted of a violent crime myself, but I lived with those kids, and I understood their problems. Their problems originated in the home, where there really wasn't much love or discipline or affection for those children.

I commend the chairmen. I look forward to working with this committee in trying to help our young people have a brighter future.

Thank you.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much.

We have been joined by the youngster on this committee—and I want to tell you, Strom, that I have been to a lot of nice events, but your birthday party last night was one of the best that I have attended in this town. I should tell our audience that this fellow to my right celebrated his 90th birthday in the last couple of days. We aren't going to sing "Happy Birthday" to you again, Strom, but you are certainly someone who cares a lot about these issues, and we welcome you here this morning. We'd be glad to take any opening statement you may have.

## OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR THURMOND

Senator THURMOND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It is a pleasure to be here this morning to receive testimony concerning youth violence. I would like to join my colleagues in welcoming our witnesses here today, and I would also like to welcome my colleagues from the House of Representatives. It is an honor and a pleasure to have you with us.

Mr. Chairman, the largest immediate threat to our children is violence—I repeat, violence. Many of our cities now resemble combat zones. Many of today's youth literally arm themselves for school.

As First Deputy Commissioner Pritchard notes, according to the Department of Health and Human Services, one in 25 students in grades 9 through 12 carried a firearm at least once during a 30-day period in 1990. Homicide is now the leading cause of death of young people between the ages of 15 and 24 in many of our cities.

Behind all the statistics there is a growing sense of public outrage and an increased number of victims who feel personal anguish. However, what is not behind all the statistics is a solution to the ever-increasing problem of violence among our youth and society.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that we must remember that the person primarily responsible for the crime is the criminal. We must recognize that the law demands individual responsibility. We must enact tough laws that will discourage violent behavior, and we must allow our system of justice to enforce the laws we make.

We must also try to prevent violence before it ever occurs. I agree with Dr. Prothrow-Stith that we should design violence prevention to complement but not replace strategic criminal justice efforts. If possible and appropriate, we should try programs based on prevention and early intervention so a youth does not become a hardened criminal. If we must resort to punishment, we should do so swiftly and appropriately. We must begin to send a clear signal that society will no longer tolerate such behavior.

Mr. Chairman, I believe it is imperative that we curb the violence and save our youth.

I want to again welcome our witnesses here today and look forward to reviewing their testimony. I cannot be here too long on account of another engagement, but I will review their testimony, as I am vitally interested in this subject. There is nothing more important than our youth. They are the finest resource we have, and we must take every step we can to preserve them and assist them as they come up and become adults.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you, and Senator Thurmond, your House colleagues want to wish you a happy birthday, too.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Let me now call on Maxine Waters, who I think everyone knows is from California and has been a wonderful advocate in this area, too.

## OPENING STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE WATERS

Ms. WATERS. Thank you very much.

I would like to especially thank Senator Dodd and Congresswoman Schroeder for pulling us together in this joint committee hearing entitled, "Keeping Every Child Safe: Curbing the Epidemic of Violence."

I stopped everything that I was doing to be here this morning because I believe it is important for us to continue to make this an issue and to delve into ways that we can create public policy to get at the root causes of violence in this society.

I represent a district in what is known as South Central Los Angeles. For 14 years, I was a member of the California State Legislature. Included in my district were Watts and other parts of South Central Los Angeles, which is known as the home of the Bloods and the Crips and the 5-Deuce Crips and the Grape Street Gang, and on and on and on.

In that district, I have worked with five public housing projects for the last seven or 8 years. I took the opportunity to create my own job training program when I was in the legislature, using Wagner-Peizer moneys, because JEPTA and no other job training program reached the housing projects. Thousands upon thousands of young people, and young black and Latino males in particular, were hanging out, day in and day out. City hall paid no attention; the State paid no attention, and God knows, the Federal Government had dropped these young people off of America's agenda. They had nothing, and nobody cared.

We decided to try and find out who they were and what they wanted. We put out fliers in the housing projects and organized pre-employment training programs. The lines formed around the housing project gymnasiums. And we, over a five-year period of time, got to know thousands upon thousands of young people, people who don't show up in anybody's statistics or data. They are not in school; long since dropped out. They really don't live anywhere. They are not on the housing authority rolls because after a certain age, no longer on welfare, they are not listed because it would cost more money. They live from grandmother to girlfriend to mother—anyplace they can hang their hats.

These young people, we discovered, wanted what everybody else wants. They want jobs. They want job training. They want to be mainstreamed. They don't know how to do it. Many of them are the children of parents 14, 15, 16, 17 years old, who have not been socialized in the same ways that perhaps you and I have been. They don't know how to negotiate their environment, and they don't know how to connect with the personnel departments and how to seek out whatever opportunities may be available.

But let me assure you, less and less opportunities have been made available to these young people. They form into gangs, and they will tell you they love each other, they will look out for each other. It is very territorial, and these young people don't settle their differences with fist fights. Yes, they have AK47s, yes, they have Uzis. And I have been to countless funerals in the hood, with young people dressed in their red or their blue, with police officers lined up outside the funeral parlors for fear that one gang will come and not only shoot or kill those in attendance, but in many cases, attack those who are lying in the caskets.

I am overwhelmed, I am devastated and almost destroyed as a public policymaker, with very little help from government or anyplace else, to deal with this awesome problem.

Recently, my city went up in flames. Fifty-two people were killed, countless people put in jail. And still, you really don't hear anything about a directed program or programs to deal with this kind of violence, this kind of alienation, this kind of anger, this kind of rage.

Recently, following the Rodney King beating and the trial, there was another beating at Florence and Normandy, in my district, where Mr. Denny was beaten by some young folks in that community. They were characterized as thugs and crooks. I went to the community, knocked on doors, and drew the young people out in the community to find out who they were and what they wanted.

We discovered they were like most young black males in America in these inner cities, whether it is in the housing projects in Los Angeles, Cabrini Green in Chicago, Carsquare Village in St. Louis, Nickerson Gardens in South Central. They are young black people who don't know what to do and where to go.

We put them in our cars and enrolled them in the Maxine Waters Employment Preparation Center. We have young folks in a little pilot project that I'm doing, who are enrolled in school and going every day. A women's group that I am a part of paid them a stipend from moneys that we have raised. It is not much money. We give them $50 a week for haircuts and transportation. They are happy. They are trying. They are in school every day.

When I go home on the weekends, I go to the school, and I check on them.. They are delighted. We would like to be able to connect them with some jobs. We don't have a lot of resources for job development and jobs, but let me tell you, members of this committee, we can do a lot if we understand the power that we have. JEPTA does not work as pure JEPTA. It does not connect anybody with jobs.

We need to have stipend-based programs that provide some support, put some money in the pockets of young people so that they can get haircuts, they can have clean clothes, they can have transportation, and have some food to eat, and yes, a place to live, and we can mainstream them.

This Congress, this society, does not want to do that. Somehow, it is characterized as giving to people who are not worthy or deserving. We can talk all we want to talk, and you will hear it from young people today. If we don't provide some resources to help mainstream them, nothing is going to happen.

Young folks who are hungry, who are homeless, who have nothing don't sit in job training programs all day long, thinking something may happen 6 months or a year from now.

I am delighted to be here today because I cannot continue to live with this violence. I refuse to continue to go to funerals of young kids who are shot down in crossfire. I refuse to accept that our society does not recognize that 18, 19, 20, and 21 year-olds, 25 year-olds who never worked a day in their lives, cannot be helped by this government.

We can listen all we want, but if we keep going with the lack of support and only summer jobs programs, we will not turn this situation around. We must understand that we have to be real advocates and take sincere steps to deal with the underlying causes of violence, and understand that these families are different, and they need some support.

If you think somehow some welfare mother, 16 or 17 years old, can do it by herself, you are wrong. But we have the ability to do something, members. I am delighted to listen to what our young people are going to say this morning, but I really feel like I already know. Over the past 5 years, they have been telling me. I have been screaming and crying and hoping someone would listen.

Let's listen one more time and see what we are going to do. [Applause.]

Senator DODD. I'd like to welcome as our first witness this morning a very special witness. Brandon Green is 7 years of age, and he is with his parents here this morning.

Brandon lives in Washington, DC. A few months ago, he witnessed a murder at Union Station just a couple of blocks from here. After the incident, he wrote a letter pleading for an end to violence in the United States, and he sent his letter to the Washington Post. And a reporter, Courtland Milloy, wrote a column about Brandon's experience.

I think it is very fitting this morning that our first witness as we begin our quest to put a child's face on violence begins with young Brandon's plea for peace in the streets of this country.

Brandon, we are very honored that you are here this morning. Why don't you come on up, and if your parents would like to come with you, that's fine, as well as your brother.

Would you like to introduce your family to us first?

## STATEMENT OF BRANDON GREEN, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. GREEN. This is my father. His name is Ray. This is my brother. His name is Lawrence. And that's my mother. Her name is Gerry.

Senator DODD. Very good. We welcome all of you. It's nice to have you with us this morning. And Brandon, we thank you very much for coming here this morning. You look very good in that suit. You look like a Senator to me.

Why don't you read your letter to us?

Mr. GREEN. Good morning, Representative Schroeder, Senator Dodd, and other subcommittee members.

My name is Brandon Green. I am 7 years old. Last December, I went to see "Aladdin" at Union Station. When the movie was over, somebody got shot in the head.

I do not like violence. I do not like people shooting and killing each other. This violence must stop. Violence has happened to me. One day, my brother and I went to play basketball. These boys took our bikes. They kicked me in the chest and threw me off the bike. I was extremely angry.

Also, someone broke into my neighbor's house. I felt scared. My other neighbor's truck was broken into. I felt sad and afraid.

I don't like war, either. The main idea is that I don't like violence at all. I would like to see peace and no more violence. No more violence would mean my grandmother could go anywhere she wants. I could play wherever I want. People would care about each other. Nobody would cry anymore because of violence.

I want to be a basketball player and a bricklayer when I grow up. The way I get to do that is to get an education, stay away from drugs and bad children. I will pray every night for peace on earth.

Thank you for inviting me to this important hearing.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much, Brandon. That was very good and very helpful for us, too. It took a lot of courage to come here this morning and read your letter, and we thank you for writing the letter in the first place and then coming here this morning with your parents and putting, as we say, a face on this issue so it isn't just statistics that we are talking about. But someone your age shouldn't have to witness those things.

We thank you very, very much, and we thank the entire Green family for being here. [Applause.]

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Chairman, I'd like to point out that we have also been joined by a distinguished member from New York, Major Owens, who has been very, very active in this area, and we welcome him.

Senator DODD. Major, I didn't see you come in. Thank you for joining us here this morning.

Senator DODD. Let me move to our first panel now.

Liany Elba Arroyo is from Bridgeport, CT. Ms. Arroyo is 16. She lives with her mother and grandmother one block from Father Panik Housing Project in Bridgeport, CT. It is one of the most crime-ridden neighborhoods in the State of Connecticut and one of the most crime-ridden in the country, I might add. She is an honor student in a magnet program, a junior at Central High School.

Liany and a group of Bridgeport teenagers have decided to do something about violence in their community, and she is going to tell us about that today. We thank you for coming down here.

Second is Carmen Siberon. Carmen grew up in the housing project in Bridgeport near where Liany now lives. She is now the director of Casa Management for Bridgeport Futures Initiative, a community partnership that administers programs for high-risk youth. She is going to tell us how things have changed in Bridgeport since she grew up there, and what the community is trying to do to reduce and prevent violence.

Wayne Meyers from New York City is a young man who has felt first-hand the pain of violence, having been the victim of a shooting that left him in a wheelchair, which he is in today. He is a member of the P.O.W.E.R. Group, and I will let him tell us more about what that stands for and what the group does when he testifies.

Byrl Phillips-Taylor is from Charles City County, VA. Mrs. Taylor experienced violence first-hand when her 17 year-old son Scott was shot and killed by a classmate. She has come to share her personal story in hopes that other children might be saved.

Megan McGillicuddy and Tiffany Cruz are from Brooklyn, NY. Ms. McGillicuddy and Ms. Cruz are both 5th-graders at P.S. 15 in Brooklyn, NY. Last December, Patrick Daly, the school's principal, was gunned down as he searched for a student who had fled the school after a fight. For the students in P.S. 15, Patrick Daly was a hero, a beacon of hope for these students. Megan and Tiffany will tell us what the loss of such a figure means to them and to their classmates.

First of all, let me thank all of you for coming. It takes, as I said a moment ago to Brandon, a tremendous amount of courage to come before any committee with a lot of television lights and a lot of people in the audience. We want you to know that each one of you here represents thousands and thousands—unfortunately—of other people who have been through similar experiences, so you are not only speaking for yourself today, you are speaking for others who cannot be here. And on their behalf and ours, we want to thank you very, very much for having the courage to come forward and share your time with us. It is extremely important to us.

Liany, we'll begin with you, and we want to thank you for coming down this morning from Bridgeport.

**STATEMENTS OF LIANY ELBA ARROYO, BRIDGEPORT, CT; CARMEN SIBERON, DIRECTOR OF CASE MANAGEMENT, BRIDGEPORT FUTURES INITIATIVE, BRIDGEPORT, CT; WAYNE MEYERS, MEMBER, P.O.W.E.R. GROUP, ROOSEVELT ISLAND, NY; BYRL PHILLIPS-TAYLOR, CHARLES CITY COUNTY, VA; MEGAN TARA McGILLICUDDY AND TIFFANY CRYSTAL CRUZ, STUDENTS, P.S. 15, BROOKLYN, NY**

Ms. ARROYO. Good morning, and thank you for the opportunity to speak here today and share my story.

My name is Liany Elba Arroyo. I reside in what was once the great city of Bridgeport in the State of Connecticut. Unfortunately, over the past 5 years, I have seen my city become a haven for drugs and crime.

I am not here, however, to give you a history of my city or a speech on urban problems. I am here for the youth of Bridgeport. I am here to give a face to the pain which you read about daily. For the most part, most of the people in positions of power have never actually lived through or seen what I and millions of other urban youth must face every day.

As I sit here, I wonder if the hand I have been dealt in life is a fair one. I wonder if every other child in America must go through what I and many of my friends have gone through in our short lifespan. But then I realize that this is supposed to be America, where everyone is supposed to be safe, and kids can live a carefree life. Gee, I haven't lived in that America. I live in a war zone.

I live in a place where I must go through metal detectors and carry an i.d. card before I can enter school. I live in the America where I lie awake some nights listening to semiautomatic Uzis going off and not hear a single police siren come to investigate the matter.

How do I know what kind of gun is going off? Easily. After having heard them so many times, I know what kind of gun it is just by hearing it. Scary, isn't it? Not really, not when you have lost two friends to two Uzis that are floating around out there.

The youth of the city of Bridgeport have become numb to the violence. We have seen as much death as any child in a war-torn country. This is the America that I know. One where I was once scared of walking down the streets in broad daylight.

Why am I not scared now? Now I have nothing to lose. My sense of childhood and all of the security that goes along with it was lost a long time ago. I mustn't be scared. I have to live life to its fullest, each day as if it were my last. It just might be.

Just ask the friends that I buried 3 months ago. They were only 17 and 18 years old. I have to live day by day. I cannot focus on the future or on college. I must first make it out of high school alive. It is not fair, huh? Well, remember, this is the hand that life has dealt me.

But I am not worried about myself. I am worried about my younger brothers and sisters in Bridgeport. I am here sharing my story because I want to give a voice to the voiceless. I want my younger friends in Bridgeport to have a fighting chance.

Again, I want to thank you for inviting me to speak. But let this not end here, because this is only a stepping stone, a way to open the channels of communication. I'd like you to come to Bridgeport and see what I must go through every day.

Thank you.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much, Liany.

I want you to know I was there about 5 weeks ago, and I spoke to the students at Bassick High School and have been through Father Panik Village. People think I'm making that name up, "Father Panik Village." It is P-a-n-i-k. But no project was better named in many ways, and it certainly was not anticipated when that project went up a number of years ago.

Senator DODD. Carmen, I know you are familiar with Bridgeport and its history, and we thank you for being here this morning as well. Why don't you take a minute and just share some additional thoughts if you'd like.

Ms. SIBERON. Thank you, Senator.

Good morning. My name is Carmen Siberon, and I am also here to speak to you on behalf of Bridgeport.

My father was a good provider until he died. Widowed with five children and only a 3rd grade education, my mother was unable to earn enough money to feed us, so she moved to Bridgeport seeking opportunity.

I grew up in the same neighborhood—Father Panik, in fact—that Liany just described, but there was a sense of community back then. We attended the churches and schools. The children had a fully-equipped playground for recreation, and most kids could earn money doing odd jobs. Families at Father Panik would wash the stairs with pride every Saturday morning, and management took care of the grounds.

But as the complexion of the residents changed, resources seemed to gradually disappear. Interestingly, families continued cleaning the hallways long after management stopped cleaning the outside. Eventually, they gave up, too—the beginnings no doubt of the alienated, crime-ridden community that now exists.

Although we experienced the ills of poverty and moral decay, nothing that we experienced can be compared to our youth today. For example, we have Jane, a 12 year-old Hispanic female who was pulled off her bicycle in her neighborhood in the East Side and raped at gunpoint. Jane was threatened with her life and continues to see the 19 year-old perpetrator, who readily reminds her of his threat by patting his side, as if to say, "Remember, I have a gun."

We have children peddling drugs. Recently, I was standing with a colleague, looking at the same playground I so enjoyed as a child, now just an empty lot, as she shared with me how 1 day she was sitting on one of the cement steps at lunchtime, taking a break, when a little boy about 7 years old walked up to her and offered to sell her whatever drugs she wanted.

Other related problems we find include a family of six living in one room, a family of five living without a stove or refrigerator, families unable to provide for their children's basic needs. Stripped of all their dignity, parents give up, contributing to a growing phenomenon I call "parentless children," children forced to fend for themselves.

All of these conditions contribute to the violence found in Bridgeport. Bridgeport is coming together in many ways to deal with the violence, however.

We are building strong linkages and solid coalitions with police, schools, community-based agencies and businesses, and most important, are committed to developing neighborhood leadership. Neighborhood residents need to be stakeholders, but first they must be given a stake to hold.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Siberon follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CARMEN SIBERON

Good morning. My name is Carmen Siberon, also here to speak to you on behalf of Bridgeport.

My father was a good provider until he died. Widowed with five children and only a third grade education, my mother accepted her sister's invitation and encouragement to move to Bridgeport from Puerto Rico, almost 35 years ago.

To this day, Bridgeport continues to offer families like mine, a promise of hope. In spite of a seriously poor quality of life, recent arrivals claim that relatively speaking they actually fare better in Bridgeport than in Puerto Rico.

I grew up in Father Panik Village, the same neighborhood, Liany Arroyo just described. The main difference being that I lived and was a part of a community. A racially integrated community that consisted of a common church, a common school, a neighborhood police station, a local market, drug store, candy store, and a well staffed and well equipped common playground.

My favorite times were walking to and from school with my next door friends, and running through the playground sprinklers on hot summer days.

My teenage brother and his friends earned money shining shoes on East Main St., and delivering freshly baked Spanish bread to people's homes at 6 in the morning. There were odd jobs available for young people.

Every Saturday morning, families would jointly clean their common hallways and staircases, while the common grounds outside were maintained by the housing management.

Over time, the number of African-Americans and Puerto Ricans continued to increase while the number of nonminority groups moved out of the neighborhood to other parts of the city. Simultaneously, unbeknownst to the growing minority population, the resources for the upkeep of the grounds, and for the maintenance of the playground, among other things, began to slowly decline until virtually unavailable.

The beginnings, no doubt, of the disfranchised and alienated crime-ridden community, Liany so well describes.

Although all successful and productive adults today, my brother and sisters did not entirely escape, but overcame the ills of poverty and moral decay, some of our experience resulted in teenage pregnancy, substance abuse, gang involvement and school drop out.

Nothing, that we experience, however, is comparable to the experience of our inner city youth today.

Bridgeport is one of five cities funded by Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquent Prevention (OJJDP) and the Annie E. Casey Foundation through the Center on Addition and Substance Abuse (CASA) at Columbia University. The project is known as Strategic Intervention for High Risk Youth (SIHRY). Key interventions include: community policing, increased police presence in the East Side target neighborhood, intensive case management and after school and summer activities. Luis Munoz Marin, grades K–8 is the target school.

The SIHRY project aims to develop an integrated neighborhood-based service approach that calls for partnership between school, police, juvenile justice system, social, health and recreation service providers. Beyond the interagency linkages, the initiative emphasizes the need for working in partnership with community residents and youth.

The goals of SIHRY are to reduce drug trafficking and related crime neighborhood, divert youth from gang and criminal involvement, and improve the safety of the neighborhood.

Jane is a SIHRY project participant. Jane, is a 12 year old Hispanic female also living on the East Side of Bridgeport. About 1 year ago Jane was pulled off her bicycle, and raped at gun point. The alleged 19 year old male threatened to kill her if she told anyone about this. Recently, Jane saw this man near the school grounds and stated that he patted his side—as to say, I have my gun. Petrified, Jane confided in a schoolmate who also confessed the she too is a victim of rape. They both decided to tell the staff of the School Health Clinic, who then notified the SIHRY case manager. Because of our close working relationship with the police and the school in this project, we were able to immediately initiate a police investigation, that is still ongoing, while we continue to provide Jane and her family with a variety of supportive services.

Since this project got underway in December, four of the 13 participants have been arrested for drug trafficking on school grounds, teacher assault, assisting in burglary in nearby suburb, and violation of parole.

Common to all cases is extreme money related problems evident in serious housing issues, for example, one of the families is a family of six living in one room, in a dilapidated rooming house. Another is a family of five living in an apartment without a refrigerator or stove.

Unlike when I was growing up, the earning potential of these families and/or the financial assistance provided by the welfare system for children and families in need, is simply not sufficient for families to provide for their basic needs of food and shelter. Unable to provide for the basic needs of their children, parents are stripped of all dignity. I believe that this is a factor contributing to a growing phenomenon. that I call "parentless children," children forced to fare for themselves.

All of these conditions, in my opinion, contribute to the prevalence of community violence in Bridgeport.

The issue of violence is of grave concern and top priority for many in Bridgeport. Taking a lead role, the Bridgeport Children Advocacy Coalition (BCAC), Bridgeport Futures Initiative (BFI), the Regional Youth/Adult Substance Abuse Program (RYASAP) and other key organizations have jointly led the development of a "Community Mobilization Plan" based on the model developed by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, which frames the issue of violence as a public health issue.

The Bridgeport model focuses on four major environments of socialization parents/family, schools, peers, and community, and the major levels of intervention in each environment ranging from awareness and prevention to treatment and advocacy.

With a homicide rate double the rate for the Nation, Bridgeport is committed to assist in mobilizing a community in crisis toward positive action through neighborhood leadership and organization.

Our hope is for a city that offers our youth and families, education, training and job opportunities—requisites for a safe city.

Again, on behalf of Bridgeport, I'd like to thank each of you for the opportunity to speak.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much, Carmen.

I should point out at Bassick High School, when I spoke with about 120 to 200 students, at the end of it, they said, "We'll take you with us if you'd like, Senator, and we'll show you where the guns are in school. We'll take you right now and show you where the guns are in school."

One hundred eighty thousand children bring a gun to school every day in this country. That's the rough estimate; it may be more, but that's just to give you some idea. But I'll come down, and we'll go through Father Panik Village with you again, Liany, OK?

Before I call on our next witness, I apologize—my colleague from Rhode Island, Senator Pell, is here. Senator, we want to thank you for coming.

Senator PELL. I'll take my turn when the witness has concluded.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much.

Senator PELL. Thank you.

Senator DODD. I want to again thank our next witness, Wayne Meyers, for being here. We really appreciate your presence here this morning. You are very special to come.

Mr. MEYERS. Thank you.

My name is Wayne Meyers, and I am 18 years old. I am a member of the P.O.W.E.R. Group. It stands for "People Opening the World's Eyes to Reality."

P.O.W.E.R. was first started and developed in Goldwater Memorial Hospital, where I am a patient. P.O.W.E.R. currently has 24 members. Some of these members had been incarcerated before they were injured. Some of them used or sold drugs. Most of us grew up in the streets of New York City.

Our goal in working with P.O.W.E.R. is to warn our children about drugs and being involved with drugs and violent behavior.

Before I was hurt, I did some bad things which I am not proud of. I gave way to peer pressure, and I did not listen to my mother. I thought that nothing could happen to me. I definitely never imagined that I would get shot.

Last year in August, I was riding in a jeep, just riding around. Some boys on bicycles came up and opened fire on the jeep. I don't know why they tried to shoot us, but they killed the driver, leaving me paralyzed from my waist down.

My mother always told me to pick my friends carefully, but I never listened. I suffer every day, knowing I have no feeling below my waist, and that I probably will never be able to walk again. I am only 18, and I will have to live with this situation forever. My only friend now is my wheelchair.

Children are hurting; they are being killed. Please help us stop the violence. Please help prevent the senseless shooting and killings. If someone had cared for me before my accident, maybe I would not be in a wheelchair.

Thank you. And this is our program director, Octavio Marion.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much for coming as well, and Wayne, thank you very much for that statement. We'll do our best to see that what happened to you doesn't happen to more people in this country. Thank you for coming this morning.

Mr. MEYERS. Thank you.

Senator DODD. Mrs. Taylor.

Mrs. PHILLIPS-TAYLOR. Members of the committee, this is my son, Dean Scott Phillips. He was 17 years old when he was murdered. He was the boy nextdoor. He was my life. He never gave me any trouble. He was an excellent student, and in 3 weeks, he would have been bound for Virginia Tech.

He was killed by a classmate who was 18 years old—an Eagle Scout. He had never been in any trouble. There was no alcohol, there was no drugs. They didn't even smoke. They had had problems in high school, only verbal encounters.

No one ever told me about this problem. I never knew about it. There was never any physical violence. They graduated. Mr. Miller, the killer, found out where Scott was going to be working for the summer, and he came on the job and began working there, and he made Scott think he was his friend. He took him deep into the woods, and he shot him with an AK–47 assault weapon. The first shot was in the back. It severed the spinal cord and immobilized him. The other shots all hit vital organs, and the last was an execution shot to the head. Scott didn't have a chance.

Miller was charged and convicted, and we are now going through the appeal process.

During the school year, Mr. Miller took that gun on school property more than once. Children have testified that they saw it there; no teacher ever did. Mr. Miller told another teacher that he hated a teacher, that he was going to take her outside and shoot her. Nobody listened. Nobody took it any further.

We need to listen to our youth.

Three children, including Miller, sat in the classroom and planned the perfect murder. They had listened to a TV show the night before on murder. The murder was very similar to Scott's. Mr. Miller participated in this conversation.

Where were the teachers?

I don't think AK–47 assault weapons should be allowed. I don't think any weapon that shoots 50 rounds of ammunition should be allowed. We need gun control.

I always had a misconception, and I think the general population does, that everything is drug related, but it isn't. It can happen to your son just like it happened to mine.

Miller was obsessed with ROTC, with guns and the military. He was the perfect soldier. He wasn't loved in the home. The psychologist testified to that. Why didn't they love him? Why wasn't there help for his family?

We must stop the violence.

I am thankful that Virginia took a big step on gun control this year. We need to go to the schools and educate the children on how to settle their misunderstandings and their disagreements through talking instead of violence. I believe that I as a victim could do this. I could go in the schools, and I could show the youth the effects of violence and how it affects everyone.

As a Nation, we have to work together. We must do something about teacher training and awareness, counseling for families, victim awareness programs, stricter punishment for convicted criminals. And we need to provide additional funding for victim witness assistance programs.

We need to make enforceable laws, and we need to enforce them. Please, let us begin today to end the violence. Remember Scott and the other victims.

Thank you for allowing me to testify before you.

[The prepared statement of Mrs. Phillips-Taylor follows:]

### PREPARED STATEMENT OF BYRL PHILLIPS-TAYLOR

My son, Scott, was 17 years old when he was murdered. He was shot five times; possibly six with an AK–47 assault rifle. The first shot was to the back, severing the spinal cord and the last shot to the head was done execution style. He was murdered by an 18 year old classmate, James Matthew Miller. Miller was an Eagle Scout. During their senior year there had been verbal confrontations between Scott and Miller but never any physical violence. I never had a teacher or parent call me to make me aware of this situation. After graduation Miller found out where Scott was working for the summer, got a job there and made him think he was his friend. A few weeks later he took Scott deep in the woods and killed him. Miller was charged with first degree murder and released on a $10,000 bond. April 1990, the bond was revoked and he was charged with capital murder. The case went to trial on August 6, 1990 and ended August 16, 1990, with a conviction of first degree murder and use of a firearm. In December 1990, Miller received a sentence of life in prison and an added charge of possession of weapon in the commission of a felony, which carries an additional 2 years. We are now going through the appeal process. Miller's defense was not guilty by reason of insanity.

My son was a fine young man. He was a Christian. Scott had been accepted to college and just a few weeks prior to his murder, we had been to Virginia Tech for orientation, to schedule his classes and meet his swim team coach. We were so excited about college. He wanted to take college courses to prepare himself to take over my real estate company and to help with our construction company. Scott was my life, my whole reason for existing. The night he didn't come home I knew it was a car accident—I never dreamed anyone would murder my precious son. He was a good student, an athlete. Everybody loved Scott. He was a very popular young man.

When they told me he had been shot and killed I can't begin to tell you the crushing feeling in my chest. There was panic, shock, disbelief. Even now, I wonder if he felt panic, knew fear. Did he suffer? I ask God to please, let it have been quick. Scott's father has lost weight, goes for counseling, can't hold a job. Scott's sister is afraid of guns, strangers and friends. She doesn't trust people anymore. She panics when hearing a car backfiring. I rarely sleep a full night. I can't concentrate at work, and my real estate company is operating at a loss. In my job I deal constantly with the public and people ask about Scott's murder. It's hard to be reminded of how horribly Scott was killed. Some people pretend they don't see me because they are too uncomfortable to talk with me. My husband tells me that when the defendant murdered Scott, he robbed my husband of me; he says I am not the same person I was before Scott's murder. I never will be that same person again. Immediately following Scott's murder, his peers were in shock. They questioned over and over "why". Why did Miller do this? Today, if you visit the cemetery, you may see a young person there or find a note indicating that they had been there. At first, the community was shocked. Then they were outraged at the $10,000 bond being so low and that Miller was able to make bond and was back out on the street. But now it's like it was just a freak thing—it won't happen again—especially not to my child. I used to be one of those people who thought only pretty thoughts. Murder can and does happen to those who least expect it. There is a misconception by the general population that murder happens to others; that the kind of violence that turns into murder is only by people doing drugs, or one race against another. The truth is that murder has no barriers. It can happen to your child just as easily as it happened to mine.

Another 18 year old male bought the AK-47 assault weapon that was used in Scott's murder from a Virginia gun shop. This gun holds 50 rounds of ammo. This boy didn't want his parents to know that he had it so he hid it in a shed at another friend's home. The gun was shown to Miller. Weeks later, the gun disappeared from the owner's home. It was not reported stolen and 8 months later it was used to kill Scott. Scott's peers say that they had seen this in Miller's truck in the school parking lot. Miller's homeroom teacher testified that Miller told her he was going to kill another teacher. When she questioned him he said he was going to take this teacher outside and shoot her. The teacher reported it to Miller's ROTC instructor. The instructor dismissed this threat as idle chit chat. I believe Scott would be alive today if these teachers had taken this matter seriously. Teachers should be trained to listen for warning signals.

Two teenagers testified in court that in a classroom, they and Miller talked about a TV show they had seen about a murder, and then they planned the perfect murder; use an unregistered weapon, hide the body deep in the woods, remove all identification—very similar to Scott's murder. I often wonder what the teachers were doing during this time. Miller had said on more than one occasion that he was going to kill Scott. No one took him seriously. Miller was obsessed with ROTC, guns, and the military. The perfect soldier! I believe that many of the high school youth are too young to be allowed to practice shooting and going to Parris Island to train as an adult soldier as Miller did. Testimony stated that Miller practiced "shooting" 5 days a week for 3 years at Highland Springs High School. We must stop the violence—the guns, and violent TV shows.

America needs gun control. There is no reason anyone other than U.S. soldiers should have assault weapons. We need strict gun control laws. I am pleased Virginia has taken a big step on gun control this year. We need to go to the schools and educate the children on how to settle their misunderstandings and disagreements thru talking instead of resorting to violence. I believe that I, as a victim, could help the youth understand the effects of violence and how it affects everyone. As a nation, we have to stop just talking about violence. We must DO something about Gun Control, teacher training and awareness, counseling for families, victim awareness programs in schools, stricter punishment for convicted criminals, provide additional funding for Victim Witness programs, and we need to make enforceable laws and enforce them.

Please let us begin today to end the violence. Remember Scott and the other victims, and save our children.

Thank you for allowing me to testify before you today.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much, Mrs. Phillips-Taylor.

Finally, Megan McGillicuddy. Are you Irish, Megan?

Ms. MCGILLICUDDY. Yes.

Senator DODD. I thought maybe with a name like Megan McGillicuddy you might be Irish.

And Tiffany, we thank you as well for being here this morning. It is very nice of you to be here.

Megan, why don't you pull that microphone close to your mouth so we can hear you, and then Tiffany, we'll hear from you, okay?

Ms. MCGILLICUDDY. Good morning. My name is Megan McGillicuddy. I am in 5th grade at P.S. 15 in Brooklyn, NY.

Mr. Patrick Daly was the principal of P.S. 15 before he was shot and killed last December. Sometimes I wish I could live somewhere else. With all the crime and violence, nobody is safe. When I go home at night, I am scared. I always watch my shadow to make sure no one is behind me. If someone is, I walk even faster.

Before Mr. Daly died, I went to and from school feeling safe, because I knew someone was watching me. Now that he is gone, I go to and from school without feeling safe anymore. No matter what kind of trouble there was in school or around school, he always seemed to be there to stop it.

He would always walk around the school and go into the classrooms to see how everyone was doing. He helped the students and teachers alike.

Mr. Daly was shot in crossfire. He ducked the first bullet, but the second one hit him through the heart. A man was trying to help him. Mr. Daly said, "Thank you," coughed up blood, and died.

Now I am even more afraid than before, because Mr. Daly was my protector. If he could get killed, anybody could.

Please take guns away from everybody but the police.

Thank you.

Senator DODD. Thank you, Ms. McGillicuddy.

Tiffany, welcome.

Ms. CRUZ. Good morning, Senators, Congresswoman, and members of the committee.

My name is Tiffany Cruz. I also am in the 5th grade at P.S. 15.

With all the violence, crimes, drugs and guns, good kids turn bad. I have seen things girls my age should never see. I have seen three men get shot and killed. I have seen drugs being sold right outside my door.

Although I live on the 4th floor, when we hear gunshots, we have to duck or run for cover. I cannot go outside to play because my mom is afraid I might get shot. Sometimes I am afraid, too.

I really miss Mr. Daly. He looked out for the children at P.S. 15 like he was everybody's father. Sometimes I cry because of his death, and I guess other citizens of Red Hook cry, too.

When Mr. Daly was alive, he would stand outside and protect the children. If someone was threatening to hurt one of the children, he would say to that child, "Stand behind me." Now there is no one to do that.

We, the children of P.S. 15, we the children of New York City, need your help. Please help.

Thank you.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much, both of you. That was excellent.

I want to thank all of you for being here. And let me tell you, Liany, that I'll come down, and I'll ask you to join me, and we'll go through the neighborhood, and you can introduce me to some of your friends in Father Panik Village so I can get a first-hand view of what you talked about here in your testimony. We'll arrange that in the next couple of weeks, OK? And I appreciate, again, your being here.

Let me turn to Congresswoman Schroeder who may like to ask some questions of this panel.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you very much, Senator.

I must say to the panel that I thought all of your testimony was absolutely startling. If that doesn't send a wake-up call to America, I don't know what will. And I really thank all of you for being so direct.

I think all of us listened to Congresswoman Waters' very impassioned opening statement. I know you were all in the room and heard her frustration with being a public official and not knowing what to do. I think all of us up here share that feeling—we hear these stories, and what can we do?

I want to ask any of you who may have some idea of what we could do if you would like to speak out. Megan, I heard you mention guns. You are very concerned about guns. And I think you did, too, Mrs. Phillips-Taylor.

Do any of the rest of you have anything that you'd like to add? Tiffany, did you have something to say?

Ms. CRUZ. Yes. I really want everybody not to have guns, to eliminate guns for everybody. If you could do that, maybe there would be less killing and less violence. And maybe you could eliminate drugs, like cocaine. That's a plant, and maybe you could just cut the plant and burn it or something.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. We've been trying. Believe me, we've been trying.

I want to ask the two older young people, have you ever had conflict resolution courses or anything like that? Do the schools ever try to show people other ways of settling a dispute than violence?

Ms. ARROYO. Within our school, we have a new principal for Central High School, and she has been working very closely with two groups that we have in school. We have a peer leadership group and peer tutors. The peer leadership group takes a group of freshmen—I think there are maybe 100 freshmen who are in the program out of about 500 freshmen that we have in the school—and they teach them other ways. I have gone to speak to them, also, to show them that there are other ways of doing things. And within the school, I know they have just started a conflict resolution program, but I have never seen anyone who has been involved with it; I just know about it from our principal.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. And Wayne, you have not seen anything like that really going on, either?

Mr. MEYERS. No.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. So in other words, the real message young people are getting is there is only one way to solve disputes, and there is only one way to establish power and to show who you are, I guess, and that is through violence, which is very sad.

You begin to wonder if we are a community, or if we are just a crowd in America, totally out of control. Does anyone else have any ideas of what legislators might do to really address this problem? Have you seen anything that works?

Wayne, have you seen things that help young men your age to have some hope and try something, or listen to their mothers? I know you said you didn't. Is there anything you can think of that would have helped you listen to her?

Mr. MEYERS. No. We just need a lot more after-school programs, and we need a lot of cops on the corners, because when it gets dark, that's when everything starts happening.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. So you think more police would help and more after-school programs. Do kids your age like to get into computers and do those kinds of things? Would that be attractive?

Ms. ARROYO. Yes.

Mr. MEYERS. Yes.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. You are both nodding your heads. So those kinds of things would re-instill some of the——

Ms. ARROYO. If the programs are run properly. I know most of the after-school programs within my city end about 5:00 or 6:00, and after 5:00 or 6:00 is when everything starts happening. One of my friends who got shot, it was about 9:00, 9:30.

And you don't see cops on my side of town. Now they are starting to be there because of all the violence that is going on. But we have to act before things happen. I know in the city of Bridgeport, we react. Something has to happen before a cop car will be placed someplace. Like Senator Dodd alluded to, there were two students killed at Longfellow, and that's when that school was open after hours. It should have been open after hours a long time ago so that those two kids would not have been on the corner, dealing; they would have had something to after school, and maybe if their parents weren't home, they would have someplace to hang out, someplace where they could feel safe. But even now within our own schools, we don't feel safe.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Carmen, I thought your testimony was startling, because we realize how rapidly this housing area changed. There is hardly a generation between you and the young woman seated next to you. Can you share any wisdom other than the lack of resources given to the community? Is there anything else you can see that happened that we as legislators could grab hold of that changed it so much?

Ms. SIBERON. I think one of the main problems as I see it is a lack of people feeling that they belong to the community they live in. I think violence is just one symptom of some of that. People do not have ownership of their community. And I definitely would advocate very strongly for people to be able to have jobs and to own their own apartments.

Liany's mom and grandmother do own the apartment they live in, which is a new development across the street from where Father Panik used to be. And she was sharing with me on the train ride how, before her mother owned that unit, she rented apartments, and how she has seen a difference in her mother's attitude toward the maintenance of her apartment, and how she watches out for the neighbors to see how they maintain theirs. There is just a sense of ownership and a sense of community that just does not exist. People need to belong, and they need to feel that they are stakeholders. But if they don't have a stake to hold, how can we expect them to act and feel like it?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. So, as policymakers, we look for how we get stakeholders in the community, and then that gives people the power to start solving it? Would that be your message?

Ms. SIBERON. And jobs.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. And jobs.

Ms. WATERS. Madam Chair, would you yield?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Yes, I'd be delighted.

Ms. WATERS. I think that whenever we have young people here in the Nation's Capital, we should take it as an opportunity to share information and provide some education.

I would not want you to leave here thinking that you have given us an idea about gun control or taking guns off the street, and that we have not heard you or we have not been involved in this issue for a long time.

I want you to know about something called the National Rifle Association. It is known as the "NRA." They are very powerful. They have strong lobbyists in Washington, DC. Many Members of the House of Representatives, my colleagues, and many Members of the Senate agree with them, for whatever reasons. I disagree. [Applause.] As public policymakers, we could if we wanted to get rid of guns in our society.

I want you to learn more about the NRA. I want you to know why we have so many guns on the streets. And I want you to be able to ask the question of those who say it is their constitutional right: do they really believe that a 15 year-old in our cities deserves the right to have an Uzi or an AK–47, and how do they think we are going to stop this killing if they persist in using their resources to keep these guns in our society?

Don't leave here without understanding that. Ask your schools to do a research project on it, and find out, because I want to enlist you in the army of those who would fight against this, and someday, maybe we will be able to prevail.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Amen. That's all I can say.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. [Applause.]

Senator DODD. Let me just say to Maxine I hear what you are saying. I knew a fellow who was elected to the Senate in 1958, and in 1959, 30 years ago, when he offered gun control legislation, he got four votes the first time. In fact, my colleague from Rhode Island served with that individual. We finally passed something called the "Omnibus Crime Bill and the Safe Streets Act" in the late 1960's. In those days, it was trying to stop bazookas and rifles from being shipped by mail order all over the country; all you had to do was open a magazine and order them and have them shipped to you.

Unfortunately, all that legislation was undone about 20 years later. But that fellow who introduced that legislation in 1959 was my father, and we come from the largest gun manufacturing State in the United States in—Connecticut.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. And he paid heavily for it.

Senator DODD. And he paid heavily for it.

Senator Pell.

## OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR PELL

Senator PELL. Thank you. I salute you and Madam Chairwoman for conducting this hearing.

I think it is tragic that it is necessary to have such a hearing, that a hearing is warranted. But there is no question that children and youth today are exposed to a great deal more violence, as you have pointed out, than generations preceding them, not just on television or in the movies, but in their daily lives.

From the viewpoint of our Senate Subcommittee on Education, I am particularly concerned about the problem of violence in the schools. No child should have to worry and fear for his or her safety while at school. No child should have to worry about his or her safety going to or coming from school.

There are many things, to answer the Congresswoman's query, that I think we can do to help. We can provide support services to children of troubled families to help them understand that violence per se is not going to solve their problems and to help them cope with the feelings of anger and frustration that all young people experience.

Second, we can support programs like the National Youth Sports Program, that not only teach kids the danger of drugs and alcohol, but provide activities and enjoyment for the children after school.

And then, third, we can stop the proliferation of guns, perhaps the single most critical thing we can do to reduce the violence and the exercise of violence in our society.

And here, we have legislation before us, but we just don't have the gumption, guts, or whatever you want to call it, to pass it. The most far-reaching bill, and one I am very proud to have cosponsored, is the one of my colleague from Rhode Island, John Chafee, which prohibits the possession of handguns period all over the country, except by soldiers, police officers and guards and licensed gun clubs.

I look forward to hearing a little bit more, and I deeply regret I cannot stay to hear Marian Wright Edelman's testimony, which I looked forward to hearing, and which I will read.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much, Senator.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Sarpalius.

Mr. Sarpalius. I too want to echo the tremendous job each one of you have done here today. You hit from different perspectives of the problem. We have already mentioned some solutions—gun control, more police, after-school programs, jobs.

I wanted to ask Liany what happens to a student in your school when they are caught with a gun.

Ms. ARROYO. Most of the time, they are expelled from school. When a student gets expelled in the city of Bridgeport, it lasts for 1 year, so they have to go to an alternative education program. If they are under 16, the city of Bridgeport has to provide them with education, so they usually go to an alternative education school. I believe we have two of them in the city of Bridgeport. And most of the time, they are allowed back into school after the year. I know of a person who was in a school and attacked my cousin, and she was sent to an alternative education program for a year, and then about 6 months later was allowed to take classes in the adult education part of the school, which is after-hours. And then, about 2 months after that, I saw her again in school.

So they play a game of musical schools. If a kid goes to Harding, which is a school in the East Side, and he causes problems there, he is shipped to the school that I attend; and if he causes problems there, he is shipped to another school. So they keep passing it around, passing it around, and it doesn't get any better. And they can just kick him out of school, but then, if he is out of school, it is worse, because he is causing problems outside, and no one can ever see him and at least try to help him.

The kids on the street are the ones that we really need to worry about, because if we are in school, we want to learn. There is something within us that is motivating us to go to school. But these kids on the street are the ones who are mainly causing the problems, and we have to help them before we can try and help everything else.

Mr. Sarpalius. By "the kids on the street," are you talking about kids who are out of school, or——

Ms. Arroyo. School-age kids who should be in school.

Mr. Sarpalius. So are you saying they carry their guns when they get out of school, or——

Ms. Arroyo. Both. Within my school, two guns have been caught already with the metal detectors since the installation of the metal detectors. One student got by, because there are six security guards at our school, and they just wave the batons between us, and if it starts beeping, or something looks suspicious, or if I have a big bag, they will stop me and search me, but then, while they are searching me, 20 other kids are going through.

Not too long ago, a kid shot a gun off right in school. We go to school scared. If you don't know about it, then you are not scared. Like within my school, we have a magnet component and then the regular high school component. And most of the kids in magnet, we don't go downstairs for classes. We are mainly upstairs in our component, and we don't hear about what is going on. But I have a lot of friends that are in regular Central—that's what we call it—and they know what is going on. They see it every day, and they see kids with guns, and they can tell you—I can tell you who brings the guns to school, and I can tell you who is dealing drugs, and I can tell you who is in school that is weeded or something. And I don't understand how teachers and adults cannot see that. They just don't want to get involved.

We need to make them accountable so that they can get involved and help us. [Applause.]

Mr. Sarpalius. Do you find kids carrying other weapons besides guns?

Ms. Arroyo. Knives. And most of the time, it is for a sense of protection, because we have no protection when we are in that school. When we are walking in that hallway, if there isn't a security guard around, and someone wants to jump us for our jewelry—which I myself have been threatened to get jumped for my jewelry when I used to wear it—we have no sense of protection. We need something.

Our society is failing us. Our school system is failing us. I can only speak for Bridgeport and for the public school system in Bridgeport, but they are failing us big time down there. They sit by, they watch things happen, and then they try to make little programs which we have been yelling and screaming and crying about for months and months.

A perfect example is that on December 18, 1992, we sat down and had a meeting with our mayor. He said, "Oh, yes, I agree with everything you are saying." We sat down with him again in January, about 2 weeks later, at a city-wide meeting. We had parochial schools there, we had nonpublic schools there, we had technical schools and the city public schools. We told him what we wanted. We presented him a list, which I have with me right now, of what we wanted to see done in the city of Bridgeport, and he said, "Yes, yes, yes." Two weeks later, nothing was done. A month later, two kids got shot outside the school, 13 and 14 year-olds.

And you're telling me to look to the future, to look to college, when 13 and 14 year-old kids are getting murdered outside their own school?

No one is held accountable to the youth of today. We can't vote, so no one cares.

Mr. Sarpalius. Can you make that list available to us?

Ms. ARROYO. What did you say, sir?

Mr. Sarpalius. Can you make the list available to us.

Ms. ARROYO. It's——

Senator DODD. Let me just say to Liany that I know Mayor Ganim of Bridgeport very, very well. And let me just tell you it's not easy being a mayor in our cities today, with the resources. Seventy percent of the revenues that come to Bridgeport are from residential taxes in Bridgeport; only 30 percent from businesses. Businesses have left the area. Such cities are just squeezed six ways to Sunday.

But I wouldn't want the hearing to leave with the note that Joe Ganim doesn't care. I know him too well, and I think he does care very, very much. He is a new mayor, and I'm sure he wants to help. But the pressures they are under, trying to make resources stretch—I don't know, Carmen, if you know the mayor or not, but my experience with him is he does care.

Ms. SIBERON. Yes. I think the mayor has been very active recently, particularly after the shootings in front of Longfellow School. There has been a new violence task force developed that is going to try to look at the situation.

Bridgeport Children's Advocacy Coalition has also been working desperately for about a year now, trying to develop a community mobilization plan that is based on the Centers for Disease Control.

There are a lot of good things happening in Bridgeport—hardly fast enough——

Senator DODD. I agree.

Ms. SIBERON. —but we are working at it.

Senator DODD. We aren't unique in that regard, either.

Ms. SIBERON. Absolutely. But we are trying.

Mr. Sarpalius. I just want to say to Liany that you should be strongly commended for your activeness, for your determination and your leadership that you are showing in your school. Don't give up, because it is people like you, students who want to make a difference, who can make a difference. I commend you for what you have done.

Wayne, I wanted to ask you a personal question. Have you ever owned a gun?

Mr. MEYERS. No.

Mr. Sarpalius. Could you get one?

Mr. MEYERS. Yes.

Mr. Sarpalius. How easily?

Mr. MEYERS. It's real easy. I know a lot of people that carry them, and if I was in trouble, and I needed help, I could ask them.

Mr. Sarpalius. Now I'm going to ask you a tough question. If we had a gun control law in this country where it was illegal, could you still get one?

Mr. MEYERS. Yes.

Mr. Sarpalius. OK. Wayne, I also want to commend you for your determination. The hardship that you are going to be facing the rest of your life is a tough lesson to learn, but you too are a model for your activeness and your power. I challenge you not to give up. Keep fighting for your cause and the principles that you believe in.

Mr. MEYERS. Thank you.

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Chairman.

Senator DODD. Let me first call on Senator Kassebaum.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Mr. Chairman, I would just simply say I think everybody, from Brandon Green and this panel, have spoken so eloquently to why this hearing is important and why we have to continue to care after the lights go out on the hearing.

I am very appreciative of the very eloquent testimony. I would just like to ask you, Wayne, about the organization P.O.W.E.R. Do you go around and speak to high school students—how does P.O.W.E.R. reach out to people?

Mr. MEYERS. We go around and speak to anybody who needs help. We go to junior high schools, high schools, public schools, any kind of school. There are 24 of us, and we split up and go and speak, tell our story, and try to help, because being in a position like this is hard, and we don't want to see other people in a position like we are.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Do you find pretty good response?

Mr. MEYERS. Yes, people respond. They write us, thank us, call us.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Well, thank you very much. I certainly have valued the testimony this morning.

Senator DODD. Maxine.

Ms. WATERS. I'd like to take this opportunity to commend all of you for being here. It hurts very deeply to see you here, asking for help, and even as I sit here, it is hard for me to believe that this Congress is going to rise to the occasion in ways that you can feel it.

I feel guilty to ask you to keep working without telling you how we are going to give you some real support. The President has a stimulus package, and in that package, there is some help for the cities. You have something known as CDBG moneys, block grant moneys, to help with programs, and some Members of Congress are trying to take some of that money out of that stimulus package. They want him to reduce the amount of money that would be invested in human potential in this country.

You don't know about all of these things, and it is hard to know, coming here today, but I want you to pay attention, and I don't want your visits to be in vain. And as you listen and as you understand more, pay attention to what your individual elected officials are doing, whether or not what they say is what they really mean, whether or not they in fact on the one hand are telling you they want to help you, but at the same time, running over to the White House and telling the President to cut more money out of the stimulus package that would help you.

Find out what is really going on, so that when you come here, you won't be whistling in the wind and asking for help from those of us who won't rise to the occasion and do what is necessary, even if it means getting on the point to say we're going to take guns off the streets, even if it means an unpopular political position of saying we're going to put some more money into these cities for programs and after-school programs.

Challenge your elected officials, and make them answer real questions. [Applause.]

Senator DODD. Major.

Mr. OWENS of New York. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the witnesses. Each of you made your point quite forcefully, and it will be quite useful.

I would just like to add a few comments for you to take back, especially the youngsters, to your schools and to other peers of your age.

That is, Wayne, if you lived in Japan or Germany or most of the European countries, most of the industrialized nations, you would not find it easy to get a gun. Where gun control laws are national and in force, it is not easy to get a gun, and that is very important. New York City and New York State have some of the strongest gun control laws in this Nation, but because there are no national gun control laws which are effective, it is very easy to get a gun, and it becomes easier each day. The cost of a gun in New York City is about $21 now. A teenager was arrested recently in New York City who was renting guns for $25 a night, and if you used it to kill somebody, he would charge you $100 when you brought it back. It is that ridiculous, it is that outrageous.

The culture of the gun is more complicated than just making guns available. Mrs. Taylor, the fact that your son was killed in a way in which students were imitating something they had seen on television is not unusual; it happens quite frequently.

The Federal Communications Commission, a Federal body, regulates what goes out over the airwaves, radio and television, and yet we have massive amounts of violence being portrayed on these media day in and day out. And you ought to know about that. Our Government can do something about that.

And finally, to the students from Brooklyn, I happen to know a little bit from your district. I wish you'd go back and ask some questions about whether or not the conflict resolution program that was in some schools in your district, sponsored by a group called Educators for Social Responsibility—they have a curriculum and slides and a program, and some of the schools have young people who have graduated out of the program, and they practice mediation on the school grounds—ask about that, and try to have the superintendent and the teachers do more of that in your schools.

Guns make violence very deadly, but we have many forms of violence that are also quite harmful, and whatever we can do to reduce it, we ought to try to do. And conflict resolution curriculum in schools is another way that you can take a positive step and help yourselves.

Thank you very much.

Senator DODD. I want to thank you all. Your testimony has been excellent, and you have done a good job here this morning.

Tell me a little bit about television. This has been raised by each of us here, I think, in one way or another, and Senator Kassebaum raised it.

Tiffany, would you like to start? Are you influenced? Do you think the programs you watch on television have too much violence in them, the cartoons and so on that you watch?

Ms. CRUZ. Yes. Not a lot of the cartoons, but the shows that have guns frequently shot. But TV shows also tell you about the neighborhood, and tell you that you should stop shooting guns and stop all the violence and drug selling, because they show that you can die from it, or you can get badly hurt, and it doesn't do you much good.

Senator DODD. What is your favorite show, Tiffany? You can pick two or three if you'd like.

Ms. CRUZ. I think "Boyz N' the Hood" and "Juice" really show a lot of what is happening in Red Hook and other cities in the U.S.

Senator DODD. Megan.

Ms. MCGILLICUDDY. I think that TV does tell you a lot, and some movies that kids like to watch say that guns are okay, and the message they are sending is that guns are okay, that guns and violence solve problems. But there are other TV shows that disagree, and they say that guns are bad, they kill people, and violence is not the way to solve problems, and that you should talk it out.

Senator DODD. Wayne, do you have any thoughts on this?

Mr. MEYERS. Yes. Movies do show a lot of violence with guns. Like they bring out a new movie, "CD4," and that has a lot of violence in it. When you let a kid go to that movie and see all the shooting going on, he's going to think that that is his idol, and he wants to do what that man is doing, so he's going to go along and do that.

Senator DODD. Liany.

Ms. ARROYO. I think that TV glamorizes violence so much. If you see a "Terminator" movie, Arnold Schwarzenegger will get shot 50 times and he'll get right back up and keep on walking. That's the idea that many of the youth of today have, that we are indestructible and that nothing can happen to us. And it is constantly reinforced through the TV. Especially on soap operas, so many people sleep around, and you never hear about AIDS, and you never hear about all these things that are going on that are having an effect on us.

Senator DODD. Do you watch the soap operas?

Ms. ARROYO. Every once in a while, but I am mostly in school or at work.

Senator DODD. Do your friends watch them?

Ms. ARROYO. Well, we get out of school at 2:20, and we don't get home until about 2:45, so most of the time they are over. But if we are home from school, we watch them.

Senator DODD. OK. Thanks.

You have all been great, and I am very impressed with all of you. And that must be a pretty good school, P.S. 15. You are two very articulate witnesses, I'll tell you, here this morning. You did an excellent job.

Byrl, we thank you.

Wayne, keep up the great work. We hope you'll keep talking to other students. You can have more influence on a group of students, with all due respect to all of these congressmen and senators up here. People are more apt to listen to you than they are to us in many ways, so I hope you'll keep at it. You've got a real story to tell, not just what might happen; you can talk very personally about what did happen. So keep up the good work, all right?

Mr. MEYERS. Thank you.

Senator DODD. And Liany, thank you very much again, for excellent testimony this morning.

Thank you all very much.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you.

Senator DODD. If you'd like to remain and listen to the rest of the testimony here this morning, we'd like you to do that.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. I have the honor of introducing the second panel this morning, and we are very excited to have them, too.

First, we have Dr. Deborah Prothrow-Stith. Her interest in adolescent violence originated with her work as a physician in the Boston City Hospital and the Harvard Street Neighborhood Health Center. She is currently the assistant dean for government and community programs at Harvard University School of Public Health and the author of Deadly Consequences, which is the first book to really show the public health perspective of violence. I think that is very important.

Next, we have Joseph E. Marshall, Jr., from San Francisco, CA, who is the codirector of the Omega Boys Club of San Francisco. He is also a high school teacher who has seen the need to reach out to young people who have been on drugs or been subjected to violence. He is accompanied by Ron Fox, who is a member of the Omega Boys Club.

Then we have John S. Pritchard III, who is the first deputy police commissioner in New York City's Police Department. He was appointed to this post in January of this year, and he is currently the president-elect of the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives. We are very pleased to have his perspective on this. He has had a very, very distinguished career in law enforcement.

Finally, we welcome David E. Carson. Mr. Carson is the CEO, president and director of People's Bank in Bridgeport, CT. It is the largest savings bank in New England, and he has been very, very active in New England, dealing with the Connecticut Commission, on children supporting anticrime and antiviolence initiatives, and has been doing all sorts of things in his home city. So we will be anxious to hear about his perspective on the role the business community can play.

Let me say to all of you we are very, very pleased to have you, and we thank you for being here. We turn to you as policymakers to see what kind of guidance you can give us, because we really do want to have some active pursuit of all sorts of things that we can do positively once the lights go out and the hearing ends.

So let us start with you, Doctor, if that's okay. The floor is yours.

## STATEMENTS OF DR. DEBORAH PROTHROW-STITH, ASSISTANT DEAN, OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY PROGRAMS, AND DIRECTOR, VIOLENCE ABUSE PROGRAMS, INJURY CONTROL CENTER, SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, BOSTON, MA; JOSEPH E. MARSHALL, JR., CODIRECTOR, OMEGA BOYS CLUB, SAN FRANCISCO, CA, ACCOMPANIED BY RON FOX, MEMBER, OMEGA BOYS CLUB; JOHN S. PRITCHARD, III, FIRST DEPUTY POLICE COMMISSIONER, NEW YORK POLICE DEPARTMENT AND NATIONAL VICE PRESIDENT/PRESIDENT-ELECT, NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF BLACK LAW ENFORCEMENT EXECUTIVES, NEW YORK, NY; AND DAVID E.A. CARSON, CEO, PEOPLE'S BANK, BRIDGEPORT, CT

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. Good morning, Senator Dodd, Senator Kassebaum, Representative Schroeder and Representative Waters. I am honored to be here before you.

This has been so far one of the more important and exciting hearings for me.

I have had the honor to spend the last day and a half with 100 or so people from across the country who are actively working to prevent violence in their communities. They are mothers and fathers who have lost children. They are young people who have come forth to help. They are school teachers, outreach workers, physicians. They are present in the audience, and I am going to ask them to stand because I just want you to know that they are here and that they exist.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Wonderful. [Applause.]

Senator DODD. Thank you all for coming.

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. These are the heroes and "sheroes" of our movement against violence in the United States.

Half of the homicides occur between friends and family. We have spent a decade getting "tough" on crime. We have doubled the number of people in prisons, and in spite of that, violence has gone up 12 percent. The reason—arrests and incarceration are not prevention strategies. They are intervention response strategies.

We have spent a decade or more perfecting the art of arrest and incarceration. It is now time for us to perfect the art of preventing violence, to perfect the art of investing in our children.

In public health, we focus on prevention. If we were trying to prevent lung cancer, we would do primary prevention, work to keep people who don't smoke from ever starting.

We do secondary prevention, the work that helps people who smoke stop, and we do tertiary prevention, the work to treat those who have lung cancer.

With this effort around violence, we need some primary prevention, because we live in a society that promotes violence, that encourages violence, that is infatuated with violence. We need some secondary prevention because there are some children who are at very high risk. and we have contact with them on a regular basis. We suspend them from school. We stitch them up in the emergency rooms. They watch their mothers beaten, and the police see that. And we do nothing to respond to their need.

We also need tertiary prevention, the treatment or the response, arrest, incarceration and rehabilitation, but that is not enough. And I tell you, if we were trying to prevent lung cancer, we would not just focus on doing better lung surgery. It wouldn't make any sense. We can't prevent lung cancer by doing better lung surgery, and we are not going to prevent violence by doing better arrest and incarceration.

We wait. We see these children at risk, and we wait. They may not be able to afford the eyeglasses that they need. They certainly don't have an after-school program. If they need special tutoring, special help, or even a sports program, we can't afford it.

But you let them shoot somebody, or get shot, and we spend money transfusing, operating—we will spend $80,000 a day in intensive care costs. We will spend money arresting, prosecuting, defending, incarcerating, hopefully some rehabilitating. But we spend money on this problem.

Our "low-down-dirty-hang-your-head-in-shame" is that we wait. We wait until these children are convicted of a violent offense before we spend any money. And we have got to stop. It doesn't make sense.

Thank you. [Applause.]

[The prepared statement of Dr. Prothrow-Stith follows:]

### PREPARED STATEMENT OF DEBORAH PROTHROW-STITH

Good morning. Thank you Senator Dodd for inviting me to address the Senate Subcommittee on Children, Families, Drugs and Alcoholism. I truly appreciate the commitment and concern of this committee and the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, chaired by Senator Kennedy of my home State of Massachusetts.

I am one of many Americans who are frustrated by the absence of an effective national approach to the escalating violence in our streets and homes. America can no longer afford the expensive, aggressive and intensive responses to violence without as much or more effort dedicated to preventing the problem. I will briefly describe the public health model of violence prevention which offers new opportunities to address this growing domestic problem.

The public health approach to violence is a prevention-oriented set of strategies designed to compliment but not replace strategic criminal justice efforts. In public health, the concept of primary secondary and tertiary prevention to categorize strategies is used to categorize strategies addressing various levels of risk for a disease. In the example of lung cancer, primary prevention strategies would apply to people who don't smoke so that they don't start. These are primarily educational health promotion messages targeted at a broad audience. Secondary prevention strategies would apply to people who smoke to help them stop. These are aimed at modifying behavior through counseling, nicotine patches or even creative gimmicks. Tertiary prevention strategies apply to people with lung cancer. They are not true prevention, these strategies are actually intervention or treatment—they are a response to the problem.

When this simplified model is applied to violence a helpful perspective emerges. Primary prevention is necessary to change current attitudes and messages which promote and encourage violence. We admit this is no easy task when as rappers rightly proclaim "Violence is as American as cherry pie." There are many messages in our society which promotes violence:

–We had "Make-My-Day" and "Kick-Butt" Presidents who extolled and even celebrated violence;

–Our movie and television heroes who enjoy solving their (societal) problems by killing bad guys and who always escape serious injury;

–There are parents who don't want their children labeled a wimp so they encourage them to fight;

–Even friends encourage fights as peer groups pressure each other, choreographing the 3 o'clock fight on the corner.

We can use primary prevention strategies to change attitudes and behavior toward violence just as public health strategies changed our attitudes on smoking, exercise, diet and drunk driving.

Secondary strategies would apply to those children who are at higher risk for becoming a victim or perpetrator of violence. These are the children stitched in the emergency room and leave seeking revenge. They are often suspended from school. They are present when the police arrive to respond to episodes of family violence. Successful programs can help these children turn their fear, pain and anger into the power to repair their lives.

In this model, tertiary prevention strategies are arrest and incarceration—similar to using medicine and surgery for lung cancer victims. We cannot prevent lung cancer with more and better lung surgery and we cannot prevent violence with more and better arrests and incarcerations. Across this Nation, local and State governments are working to arrest more, prosecute harder, sentence longer, build jails. In 1980, there were 500,000 inmates in jails and prisons in the United States. In 1990, there were 1 million. The previous decade of getting tough on crime showed a rise in violent crimes of 12%.

There are examples of successful secondary prevention programs. Such as the gang prevention mediation programs and first offender programs. Our shame as a nation is we have done little primary or secondary prevention work. Our "low-down-dirty-hang-your-head-in-shame" is that we wait. We wait until these children commit a violent offense and then we quickly respond with expensive, aggressive and intensive strategies. We stitch, transfuse, repair, rehabilitate, maintain, arrest, defend, prosecute, evaluate, and incarcerate. We spend money—big money—$60 billion a year reacting to this problem.

There are examples of successful programs which have been included in the testimony before you. We must continue to create and expand such efforts to prevent violence. These strategies include successful primary and secondary prevention programs that work to:

–change our social norms;
–redefine the characteristics of heroes;
–promote and teach skills of getting along;
–promote and teach how to handle anger in powerful productive ways;
–teach parenting skills;
–encourage movies and television stories which portray successful nonviolent problem solving.

Most importantly—we must use the contact we have with children at high risk to respond earlier and more intensely with more resources to prevent violence.

I want to close with a word about the efforts to identify biologic and genetic markers for violence. There are at least two reasons to make such research a lesser priority than implementing and further evaluating the primary and secondary prevention strategies I've discussed:

1. there is tremendous evidence which supports the premise that violence as we experience in America is learned behavior and that nurture is the issue in the overwhelming number of violent episodes—particularly the large number which occur among friends and family;
2. We have excellent social and behavioral markers of high risk which we currently ignore: frequent suspensions for violence, emergency department visits for violence, siblings of offenders, children who witness violence. We need to respond to these markers. Finding helpful biologic or genetic markers is unlikely.

There may be some treatment lurking in years of biologic studies—but let's not get distracted. We know there are successful prevention programs which must be expanded and there are children at risk who need our attention before an inevitable crisis.

I am not pessimistic. I have spent the last day and a half meeting with committed and caring people across the country who have devised innovative, constructive community-based programs to address violence in homes and streets. We must make their work a part of our effort to prevent crime.

Thank you.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you very, very much.

Well, Joseph Marshall, let's hope you have some preventive strategies. We need some intervention.

Mr. MARSHALL. This is really special being here, and it is actually hard to believe. I want to thank you for allowing myself and Ron of the Omega Boys Club to come.

It is funny—I have a little more than five minutes—but it is not unlike going into a prison or going onto a street corner, and I have to convince the Ron Foxes of the world to stop doing what they are doing, to stop dealing drugs, stop gang-banging, and stop shooting people. And the key to the whole thing is to get them to believe that it is possible.

I feel the same way here. You need to know that it is possible, and it is. I've got to say that at the beginning: It is. So I am going to read from this, and I wrote this purposefully to tell you what can happen if you intervene. You can achieve success. So I am going to do it that way, and hopefully you'll be able to understand what happens. If you really want to solve the problem, you can solve the problem. So all I know is it's a lack of effort, a lack of will. I understand that.

I'll read from this. I sincerely appreciate the opportunity to testify before the committee on the effectiveness of the Omega Boys Club at combating the problems of drugs and gang violence—the two problems which I believe are the most devastating to the communities in which we live. I'll get right to the point.

In just 6 years, the Omega Boys Club of San Francisco has been able to place 108 young people in college, many of them former gang members and drug dealers. We have been able to elicit community support to help pay for their education.

Six years ago, we began with 15 members. Today, we have over 300. We have since added a weekly radio call-in program which enables us to reach an additional 200,000 more. We do peer counseling on a weekly basis in the juvenile detention centers in San Francisco and Oakland, CA. It is not uncommon for us to meet a young offender through our peer counseling program, stay with him through the duration of the adjudication process, and send him to college.

It is not uncommon for us via the airwaves to deter a youth from engaging in the sale of crack cocaine or packing a gun to school or retaliating against a member of another gang.

Later this year, we will have our second youth conference, at which some 3,000 youth will gather to devise strategies to cope with and change the destruction in their communities. We have been profiled on CNN, the NBC Brokaw Report, Essence Magazine, and the Los Angeles Times, and have been honored at the White House.

Now, what does all of this mean? The success of the Omega Boys Club proves one thing loudly and clearly: Violence can be curbed, children's lives can be spared, and communities can be made safer—but only if—and this is a big "if"—only if we are willing to devote the time, the energy, and the personal and economic resources to making it happen.

I am a volunteer. Don't be shocked. I teach high school by day and do the Boys Club at night. I started the Boys Club because I simply got sick of losing too many young people to drugs and violence. Along the way, I have been able to find people who felt the same way as I do and who have joined with me in the fight to save our youth.

Many people seem to believe that it is easier for young people today. Well, it isn't. The lack of employment, the availability of weapons of all types, and the presence of crack cocaine have all combined to make things interminably worse for them, especially in the inner cities of our Nation. This sense is very key, people.

But armed with the belief that young people want a way out, but just don't know how to get out, we have been able to save individual lives and, better yet, empower others to reach out and do the same.

Did you see John Singleton's "Boyz N' the Hood"? Interesting that she mentioned it. I hope so. Tell me, what is your answer for the Doughboys and the Ricks of this world? Didn't you just leave the theater screaming, "We've got to do something"?

This is a terrible thing to say, Maxine, but I am almost convinced that as a society, we would rather let those young men die than do something to save them.

But now we can't say we don't know how to save them, or we don't have a successful model we can emulate. The success of the Omega Boys Club demonstrates that it is not necessarily they who have given up on us, but we who have given up on them. The ball is in our court. Service, anyone? [Applause.]

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Wonderful. Very, very nice. Thank you.

Ron Fox, do you have anything you want to add? Pull up the microphone. We'd love to hear your story.

Mr. FOX. OK. I'm happy to be here. It is something I never thought I would experience in my life. I want to commend Ms. Waters on all of her comments, because they hit home for me, because I've got a person like her sitting right here. Her name is Ms. Norris. She helped me a lot.

They basically picked me up off the street. I started at around 9 years old selling dope. I started selling weed. My father was a big dope dealer in Richmond, CA, and he introduced me to it almost before I started walking. He used to put me on his lap, and I would watch him count money, and he used to tell me that this was what I was going to do, and this was what I was supposed to do growing up. He used to always tell me, "Your name is Ron Fox. You are Ron Fox. You are my son, and you are supposed to do this." So I was growing up believing that this was what I was supposed to do.

So it was around 4th or 5th grade when I first started selling weed. I wasn't making much, about $50 or $60 a day, but that was a lot of money for an elementary school kid. Do you know what I'm saying?

It got a little bit deeper around junior high school when crack cocaine came out around 1985, 1986, when ounces were $335, and I started pushing them. My dad was saying, "You are going to be a big time dope dealer." He used to wake me up at 11:00 at night, take me on the dope track with him, and I'd watch him make all his money. And so this was something I wanted to do, and something I eventually thought I was going to die in, because a lot of things started happening to me.

I first got arrested at 13 years old. I am 17 now, and I haven't spent a year on the street yet. I spent most of my time locked up, maximum security facilities. I never did anything below 6 months. My first charge was a dope case, and I did 6 months. I was 13 years old. They really didn't know what to do with me. They couldn't understand why I was doing this.

My mother—nobody really cared about me. Nobody really took the time or effort, like Omega has, to show me the different avenues I could take to better myself. Nobody really cared.

I know what it feels like to be in a house with no food to eat and no nice clothes to wear. I know what it feels like to come home and have a crack mother sitting in the living room who doesn't even know what time of day it is, do you know what I'm saying, and nobody to help me with my homework. I never had the luxury of having somebody ask me did I have any homework. I didn't do any homework. As soon as I came home, I went outside and sat on the porch and made money.

People used to ask me, "You aren't going to school today?" I mean, I was 10 or 11 years old, and they would ask, "Are you going to school?" No; I'm going to check my money. That's what I used to tell them.

At 13 and 14 years old, the public defenders and the DAs and the judges were asking why is he committing all these crimes; what is wrong with him? Does he have a home? Does he have a family that cares? My mother used to come into court, crying, "I want my baby home, I want my baby home." And the judges would ask her, "Can you control him?"

She would say, "Yes, I can control him," and they would let me come home. The next week or so, I'm committing strong-arm robbery. I am coming into your homes, taking your TVs, taking your VCRs; I'm beating your kids up as they walk the street for something I want. Do you know what I'm saying? I'm' jacking your car when you go into Macy's or Saks or whatever. Do you know what I'm saying?

It came to a point where I couldn't even focus on the outside, and I had to be locked up. Each time I came out, I couldn't do anything but just get back in there, because I felt that I couldn't fit in society. Do you know what I'm saying? I felt like I couldn't be a part of society, and that I had to be locked up. And I wanted to be locked up. I thought that was going to be my future. I eventually thought I was going to hit county jail.

This past Christmas, they were getting ready to try me as an adult, they were getting ready to send me to the authorities for 5 years, and Omega saved me, because they showed me a better way of life, a whole different way. They have taken me everywhere with them. They brought me to Washington. They take me to different functions that they speak at, and they let me speak and tell my story. They showed me a lot of things that I can do, like work. I was making $15,000 in 2 weeks. Do you know what I'm saying? I was making more money than people who were working eight hours a day? I was buying my own clothes, my own food, cars. I had it all—girls. I went to parties and had girls all over me, since I had all the dough, I had all the spoils of the world. But they didn't do anything for me. And I had no brain because I was smoking reefer, whatever you call it. I was smoking all that. I didn't touch crack, though, but I was smoking reefer every day. My mind was gone, and I was walking in a daze every day of my life. I was looking for myself inside a 40-ounce bottle, but I didn't find myself in there. I found myself in Omega.

They gave me the opportunity. How many of you would bring a person like me, who had a 9-millimeter, who carried a gun at 12 years old, who had carjacked, who would rob you blind and smile in your face the next day, into your home like Ms. Norris did—brought me into her home? How many of you that have these programs and these networks would bring a kid like me into your home and trust me to sleep and you sleep in the same room at night, and trust me? How many? Not many. Do you know what I'm saying?

I give this lady a lot of credit, and I give Mr. Marshall a lot of credit for bringing me—for being willing to go into the hood. How many of you would go, get down and dirty, roll your sleeves up, get your knees dirty, and go into the hood, go onto the corner and get kids like me and bring them into your program, instead of keeping us at arm's length, away in Washington or wherever you are working from, and work with us? Do you know what I'm saying?

How many of you are going to come into the hoods like Ms. Waters and knock on the doors and bring us out? How many programs are going to go into these highrise buildings on the East Coast and go onto the top floors and get those kids? How many programs are going to go and get those crack mothers and take them to NA meetings? How many are going to give me a haircut? Ms. Norris was going to give me a haircut, but I told her I've got naturally curly hair, and I'm not going to cut it. Do you know what I'm saying? [Laughter.] She was going to give me a haircut. We walked into the shopping center, and she was ready to buy me clothes. Do you know what I'm saying?

I give this lady a lot of credit because I think she's one in a million, and I've been through a lot, and I feel that my life has a meaning now, and I don't have to be locked up. I feel that I can work for money. I feel like I can walk for money now, because I'm not in a car; I'm walking for money now. I feel that I can better myself and live longer by doing things with Omega Boys Club that are positive.

At first, I really didn't care about anybody. I didn't care about women. They were nothing but "Bs" to me. And my brothers were nothing but "Ns." I don't use the "N" word anymore because they taught me the background of the word, and so I don't use it. I didn't have any respect for teachers. I beat a teacher down in the 8th grade who was getting ready to send me to youth authorities for 2 years. I was 14 years old, and I beat a teacher. He had two mild heart attacks 2 weeks later.

I have been to two groups homes, three boys homes, four boys ranches, and four different detention centers in four different counties. I used to travel and do crimes in Oakland, CA, Richmond, CA, Modesto, CA, Sacramento, CA, and Vallejo, CA. That's where I did all my dirt at. And they didn't really teach me. Do you know what I'm saying? I kept on doing it and kept on doing it. It took for me to almost get my life taken by getting robbed at gunpoint with a 12-gauge shotgun to my head, telling me, "Break yourself for everything. Break yourself."

They took my drugs, they took my money, they took my coat, they took everything. One of my best buddies was with me. They said, "If you run, I'm going to kill your partner." He ran. I'm saying, "Man, come back, come back. They're going to kill me." I'm scared, I'm crying, I'm looking up in the air to God. Do you know what I'm saying? The only time I've called on God is that night. I'm saying, "Help me, help me."

So when I went home, I was like, man, the only time I call on God is when I need him, when I'm getting ready to die or getting ready to get robbed on something, but I don't call him any other time. Do you know what I'm saying?

All this stuff made me think I must have a purpose on this earth because I'm still living, because I've seen too many chances for me to die in my lifetime. I have been stabbed in the shoulder with an ice pick by a girl. That was selling drugs, too. It was over money. I've been in crack houses, demanding money, because I gave them credit. I am demanding my money, and so I go up to the house, and pull a gun to whoever I see—children, mother, grandmother, father, anybody. Do you know what I'm saying? I didn't care about anything. I would pull a gun on anybody—police. I used to kick police windows out, flat their tires and everything. Do you know what I'm saying? And it just wasn't helping me.

But now I am an editor for a newspaper. I don't have to grind anymore. I'm with Omega. I'm on a radio station every Monday, and I'm doing positive things. Do you know what I'm saying?

So that's all. And I'm glad that you all had me here, and I want to commend Ms. Waters again. [Applause.]

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you very much, Ron. That is absolutely amazing, and Mr. Marshall, you must feel very, very proud as you listen. You have really shown us that intervention is possible.

Commissioner Pritchard, we are very anxious to hear from you, too. You are in one of the most difficult cities in America, so I think your overview can be very helpful.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Senator Dodd, Representative Schroeder, members of the Senate and House committees, I am honored to appear before you this morning as your committees consider the important issue of the impact of violence on children and the steps that can be taken to reduce the violence and ameliorate its devastating impact upon them.

As a representative of the New York City Policy Department and the national vice president of the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives, NOBLE, and their president-elect, I wish to State at the outset that the law enforcement profession considers this issue as one of our highest priorities. Police officers serve on the front line of the epidemic of violence that is engulfing our country and particularly our inner cities. We are witnesses to random killings, the easy availability of guns and drugs, the devastating violence within some families, and the explosive mix of adolescent anger and ferocious fire power.

Too often, police officers must comfort the young person who has seen a friend fall to a stray bullet, or remove a child from a violent home, or try to explain to a teenager why the answer to violence should not be more violence.

Law enforcement professionals know too well that the victims of random violence are not just those who suffer physical injury. The victims include the traumatized family members, friends, and witnesses who suffer psychological and emotional wounds. When these secondary victims are children, society has a special obligation to help them heal their wounds.

I need not dwell on the horrifying statistics that show the prevalence of violence in our society. The testimony of other witnesses this morning, particularly the statements of the young people who spoke on the first panel, underscored the urgent need for action.

Yet I offer this observation. I think we have entered an era where the prevalence of random, senseless violence, especially in our inner cities, is threatening our belief that we are a civilized society.

How can we accept the fact that homicide is the number one killer of young people between the ages of 15 and 24 in New York City? That, according to the Department of Health and Human Services, one in 25 students in grades 9 through 12 carried a firearm at least once during a 30-day period in 1990? That, according to the National Crime Analysis Project of Northeastern University, the number of 17 year-olds arrested for murder climbed 121 percent from 1985 to 1991. The number of 16 year-olds arrested for murder rose by 158 percent, and the number of 15 year-olds arrested for murder rose by 217 percent. That in order to feel secure in a classroom, students must now pass through metal detectors. That homicide is the leading cause of death among African American males and females between the ages of 15 and 34 years.

Clearly, we are facing a crisis of epidemic proportions that requires every segment of our society to redouble its efforts to address the problem of violence.

The New York City Police Department is now undergoing a total transformation to a community policing philosophy. As your committees are aware, our department is not unique in this regard. Indeed, many police agencies around the country are adopting community policing. The community policing approach offers new opportunities for addressing the problems of violence and its impact on our youth.

The essential ingredient of the community policing philosophy is the formation of a problem-solving partnership between the police and the community. At every level of the police department, we are sitting down with citizens, community groups and other professionals to develop new strategies to address the problems facing the community.

We believe that this new approach is showing results. While the levels of reported crime are rising throughout New York State and the Nation, we have witnessed a decline in the FBI index crimes in New York City for 27 of the past 28 months. This trend is seen in violent crimes. From October 1990 to October 1992, homicides in our city are down by 8.1 percent, assaults are down by 7.7 percent, and rapes are down by 11.6 percent.

The community policing philosophy holds particular promise for encouraging creative strategies to address the impact of violence upon youth. We are very impressed with the work of the New Haven police department and Yale University's child study center. Under this collaborative partnership, police recruits receive intensive training on child and adolescent development to prepare them to identify and refer children affected by the violence in the community. Also, the child study center offers a crisis consultation service that assists police officers responding to violent incidents and provides counseling to traumatized youth. The center also sponsors fellowships at the child study center for police supervisors.

This type of collaborative approach represents the new direction in policing—working with other professionals to address the complex problems facing our society. Consequently, "police work" today means more than responding to 911 calls. Under community policing, we are training our police officers to be problem solvers, to work with all elements of the community.

In the New York City Police Department, we are developing a number of programmatic approaches to violence and its impact on youth. In selecting police precincts, for example, the department in partnership with the victim services agency is administering the domestic violence prevention program. A team consisting of specially trained police officers and a victim service counselor contact each family in the precinct that is experiencing violence within the home. They stress the police department's mandatory arrest policy regarding domestic violence and offer a range of services for the batterer, the victims, and the children.

The results of this collaborative effort have been encouraging. In the experimental precincts, there was a 14 percent decrease in recidivist domestic violence relating to felonious assaults, a decrease in domestic violence incidents, and an increase in the likelihood that victims will seek help from the police for subsequent violence. Based on these findings, Mayor David N. Dinkins recently announced the expansion of the domestic violence prevention program by six precincts to a total of 12.

Many of our precincts have established safe haven programs in which local businesses and agencies display decals identifying themselves as "Safe Havens" where children in danger can find protection and assistance.

Working with the board of education, we have created a program we call "Safe Passage" corridors, so that students can travel in safety from their schools to the buses and subways that take them home.

Under our SPECDA program, the School Program to Educate and Control Drug Abuse, the department sends specially trained officers into the schools to teach children about the dangers of drug abuse and the hazards of guns.

We have developed a number of programs to break down the barriers between the police and young people. Each precinct has established a youth council to involve young people and police in a dialogue regarding issues affecting youth. We have established law enforcement explorer posts in 28 precincts, with three more in formation, to develop positive leadership skills in these young people, and with the hope that they may choose also a career in policing.

In the Bronx and in the Washington Heights section of Manhattan, we are working with the Fresh Air Fund to sponsor retreats where at-risk youth and police officers learn to see each other as individuals and not stereotypes. Through our Youth Dialogue Program and our community/police retreat program, we bring police and youth together to establish a vital communication link.

Our department is an active supporter of the Police Athletic League, PAL, a private organization that provides approximately 100 play streets throughout our city each summer so that young people can play in safety. The PAL also operates eight full-time and 42 part-time centers servicing 50,000 children by providing after-school and summertime supervised recreational programs that provide a constructive alternative to the lure of the street.

Each of the programs represents a valuable tool in our efforts to work constructively with young people. These and other programs are more fully described in the attachments to my testimony. But nothing is as valuable as the day-to-day good work of each police officer, and nothing is as important as the reduction in the level of violence. This is the goal of community policing.

Before concluding my statement, I'd like to offer these observations for the consideration of the distinguished committees. Let me just say before I continue, on a personal note, as many of you know, I didn't start out as the first deputy police commissioner of the city of New York. In fact, I was a beat officer in Major Owens' district and also served as a detective with the New York City Police Department.

Too many times in the earlier part of my career would I respond to gun runs and people shot and encounter a young man much like Ron Fox, who, there but for the grace of God, could probably have been my son; and to hold a young man like that in my arms and watch the life leave that person. And I just want to say to you that the work that this committee is embarking on and undertaking is so extremely important. And this is my future right here, this young man.

Finally, let me just say first that I am fully supportive of the concept of the "Child and Family Services and Law Enforcement Partnership Act" sponsored by you, Senator Dodd. As has been seen in the New Haven program and in the New York City Domestic Violence Prevention Program, an interdisciplinary approach to the far-reaching effects of violence is very beneficial. Violence is not just a police and public safety problem. It is a health and mental health problem as well.

Accordingly, a federally-funded effort to bring together the police, health and mental health professions to address the impact of violence upon our children and families is timely and will have a positive effect throughout all service professions.

Second, I would be remiss if I did not urge this panel to take a leadership role in supporting legislation to reduce the number of guns upon our streets. In New York City, we have some of the strictest gun control laws in the country, yet last year, we took

17,635 illegal guns off the streets, and 96 percent of them were bought in other States and brought into New York.

We hope this Congress will enact and President Clinton will sign the Brady bill and other legislation that will reduce the intolerable level of interstate gunrunning that is causing havoc on our streets and killing our young people.

Finally, it is very important that the Federal Government continue to support police departments that are implementing community policing. Even though we are well on our way to implementing community policing, we still have much to learn, particularly in the area of interdisciplinary approaches to violence and crime that plague our communities.

I thank the Senate and House committees for this opportunity to discuss this important issue with you. On behalf of the New York City Police Department and the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives, I offer our assistance as you proceed with your deliberations.

Thank you.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you so very much. We really appreciate your being here and thank the police department for sharing you with us. And I think you are absolutely right. I sat on Armed Services Committee forever, and we worried so much about the international arms race, and I must say I think most Americans feel their security is much more threatened by the domestic arms race, and we'd really better get to looking at that.

David Carson, we are so happy to have you here. Normally, someone would think you'd wandered in and gotten on the wrong panel. It's great to have a banker here and find out what the private sector is doing because that's a very important component of it. So we are anxious to hear from you, and we welcome you.

Mr. CARSON. Thank you, Madam Chairwoman.

It is a pleasure to be here, and I appreciate the opportunity that you and Senator Dodd have given me to be here today.

I am not going to read my formal statement, which is in the record, but I would like to emphasize three points.

First of all, violence affects everyone. Second, there is a ready constituency of thoughtful businesspeople of every size and in every area of the country who are looking for leadership to follow in this issue because it is an issue that they do not have the expertise to solve, but are willing to work with the experts. But if there is one thing that the two of you can do right now, it is to help provide the necessary leadership.

People's Bank employs some 2,400 people in the State of Connecticut. Six hundred of them live in the city of Bridgeport, many of them in the same neighborhoods that you've heard described this morning. Those are part of our family, if you will.

And one of my first duties when I became president of the bank some 8 years ago was to go to the funeral of a young woman who lived on the east side of Bridgeport who had been shot—but not only had just she been shot, her two young children, 4 and 6 years old, had been shot. The memory of that first, if you will, Bridgeport children's funeral is etched forever in my mind. You cannot go and see a young employee, working her way out of poverty, doing so well, lying in a coffin wearing, as her family had put on at the last moment, her People's Bank pin.

Our employees who were attending the funeral, every one of them, were struck by the fact that this is a problem that doesn't go away. It is part of all of our lives.

Then, a few months later, my wife served on a murder jury in Bridgeport and sat and listened as the prosecutor made a 10 year-old girl tell and retell the story time and time again of how she had watched her uncle shoot her grandfather in a crazy spree of family violence.

Those are events you don't forget. They are part of the lives of the city. And one of my great concerns is, as we have talked at various times, that there is not a big constituency anywhere to really face what we have done to our cities in the last 20 years. We have created in them the seeds of our own destruction. And part of what everyone wants to do is to find a way to, if you will, kill those seeds now.

When I became chairman of the business advisory committee of the Commission on Children, I wondered who would join me. I have been staggered by the outpouring of businesspeople—again, small businessmen, large corporations—who have wanted to help and who again, as I say, look for direction; they look for people to come up with a program.

We have, for example, in the State of Connecticut some 21 agencies that address the issues of children. We have lobbied unsuccessfully as yet to really create at the highest level in State government someone who took on the concern of children and found ways to break down the horrible red tape that keeps apart all of the constituency of helping professions who seemingly want to help children, but work in such an unorganized manner.

We see the same thing in many Federal programs where the lack of coordination of the good things that we try to do prevent those good things from being delivered, and they are particularly difficult to deliver into areas of poverty where we are dealing with people who don't have the education to understand the complexity of the system we have built.

And if there is one thing, I believe, that you all can do, that is to help address the fact that if you are dealing with young people who haven't got a lot of education, and with their parents, many of whom don't have a lot of education, the programs have to be simple.

Moving on to something which I think is the kind of promise, there is a brand new educational instrument which we premiered last week. Bridgeport Neighborhood Housing Services sponsored a series of television educational films. These videos have been made available to your staff, Senator Dodd. The program is called "Safety Nets for Children." There is one for community action; one for helping professionals, to teach them about the very difficult problem of what violence does to children; and third is a two-part instructional program which can be shown to children literally from preschool age into the teens.

The funding for this program came again from a wide variety of corporations—and I just want to indicate again that once they understood the concept that we were going to do something about training children about the hazards of violence, and all kinds of violence, everything from the simple violence of hitting out as opposed to talking out—but the initial funding actually came from Duracell, and then people like IBM, Sikorski, Union Carbide, Northeast Utilities, the Olin Corp. Charitable Trust, and Southern New England Telephone Co.

Again, that diversity of people are willing to address those things. They want to do it, though, in partnership with people who understand it.

You'll also be interested to know that the expert in terms of putting this together was the panelist at the other end of the witness table, because Dr. Prothrow-Stith appears in these videos, and she appears as the person with the in-depth understanding of what these issues are. It is that kind of partnership that we believe successfully, in a whole variety of areas, can put together the kind of education, the kind of direct community impact, can support the work of people like Joseph Marshall, with what he is doing in the city, provide the aids, provide the assistance.

And again, one of the great things we have is a great corps of volunteers in this country. And corporate people are willing to volunteer when they know that they are working with people who are seriously interested in changing the way things are. And we have to change the way things are in our cities.

We think your bill, Senator, is a very good first step in this direction. And again, one of the things we would like to see is Congress come to grips with how do they get a shift into recognizing that this serious problem in the cities requires real impetus, both economic, requires impetus in the police area, requires it in the education area, into helping the cities. The cities as they are now structured in this country cannot muster the resources to, as many people from outside the cities say, why don't the cities solve their own problems. The problems of the cities today were created from outside those cities, and we now need someone to recognize that and say we need to tip the balance; we need to recognize that the cities in this country are in serious shape, that they are handling problems that need the combined effort of all the citizens of this country.

Again, we commend you on your bill, and I believe that a wide segment of the business community is willing to support both your efforts and the efforts of people throughout the country in terms of addressing the issue of violence in the cities and the overall problem of how do we make young children in cities successes. And they need to be successes by the time they are 10, because if we don't make them successes by the time they are 10, we are losing them.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Carson follows:]

### PREPARED STATEMENT OF DAVID E.A. CARSON

Good morning and thank you. My name is David Carson, I am president of People's Bank, a 150-year old Bridgeport-based institution with $5.5 billion in assets and 71 branches across the State of Connecticut. People's employs a total of 2,419 people across the State, 575 of whom, including me, live in the city of Bridgeport.

No doubt some of you may wonder what experience a bank president has with violence and its aftermath on our cities and young people. Unfortunately, violence touches everyone in some fashion, even bank presidents. A few examples will illustrate my point well, I think.

One of my first official acts after becoming president of People's Bank was to attend a funeral on the east side of Bridgeport. Buried that day were a young mother—who has a successful, well liked bank employee—and her two young children. They were innocent bystanders in a drug-related shootout in their neighborhood.

Not long after, my wife was assigned jury duty on a murder trial in Bridgeport Criminal Court. The case was involved a shooting in which the only reliable witness was a 10 year old girl. She testified that she watched as her uncle shot and killed her grandfather in a drunken brawl in her home one afternoon.

This needless loss of life and its devastating impact on our children affects us all in one way or another. As such, I am grateful for the opportunity to address this panel and I truly hope that some progress can be made on this critical social issue.

Let me begin by outlining some of the initiatives Bridgeport is taking and then move on to some personal comments what I believe to be the business community's role.

Bridgeport is like many cities across this country. We face many of the same problems and challenges that other midsize cities face. Crime, poverty, drugs and illiteracy are the common enemies that threaten our children's future and our vitality as a society.

Recently, under the leadership of Mayor Joseph Ganim, Bridgeport has begun to fight back with a multilevel effort to reduce violence and replace it with hope.

At present there are several public/private partnerships in place working to combat the affects of violence on children.

Spurred on by an increasingly alarming rate of violent crime among our young people, several initiatives have been launched.

With the full support of the business community, Mayor Ganim recently established a citywide task force to develop and implement proposals to combat crime and violence in our city.

The task force includes representatives from the business community, clergy, parents, kids, police department, the Board of Education and relevant city departments.

In forming this task force, we have recognized the essential truth that violence, particularly among our youth, is not "my problem" or "your problem". It's everybody's problem and it will take everybody working together to begin to solve it.

Another major initiative is the Bridgeport Youth Council. Established to give young people a voice in governing our city, the Council consists of 21 young people, working with adult support, on achieving common goals. The Youth Council serves as a liaison with city government and organizes special events, identifies and solves problems, raises issues of concern to kids and in general acts as their advocate.

Though appointed rather than elected, Council members are learning valuable lessons in the art of governing and consensus building to achieve the desirable results. In addition, the feeling of disenfranchisement and isolation so common among young people is diminishing as well.

One tangible result of the task force and Youth Council is the opening of neighborhood centers in three public schools around the city.

These centers offer educational and recreation activities from 3–9 p.m. on week nights. They enhance the education process through tutoring and mentor programs, and keep kids off the street away from the easy temptation of the gangs seeking new recruits.

Eight other sites have been identified by the Councils to open similar centers, but sadly the city lacks the financial resources to operate them. Perhaps this committee can be of some assistance in addressing the shortfall.

Another program worth noting is the work of the Bridgeport Futures Initiative, which is hard at work on mobilizing the community to overcome the catastrophic impact of violence, particularly in the schools.

The Futures Initiative, with partial funding from the Casey Foundation, functions as a clearinghouse for youth oriented programs in the Bridgeport area and as a conduit through which the business community can effectively participate and lend its expertise in project management and funding allocation. Nearly every youth-oriented initiative underway in the city has benefited from the Casey Foundation.

Clearly, the work of the mayor's office and of the Futures Initiative are critical pieces to halting the negative spiral of violence, poverty, and illiteracy on a city and its children.

I believe there is another critical piece to the puzzle—the active involvement of the business community and its leaders in coalitions and community initiatives to combat violence. This has been an essential ingredient to our efforts in Bridgeport and I believe this would be true elsewhere as well.

No caring, thinking individual can ignore the facts of violence. But all too often business people restrict their involvement to donations, remaining at arm's length from the problem. We have found that personal commitment and visible leadership can be equally valuable in achieving progress.

By personally participating in community-based initiatives, business leaders can clearly demonstrate the battle against violence requires everyone's involvement. In addition, providing resources and personal time sends a clear signal that the business community is not the enemy, nor is it a bystander.

From a practical standpoint, supporting antiviolence initiatives makes good economic sense for business. Whether you are a large company or a small business person, your success and financial performance is closely tied to the economy in which you operate. Your desirability as an employer, the value of your real estate and facilities, your insurance costs and many other bottom-line factors are strongly affected by the crime and violence that surrounds you.

I would encourage the business community to look at violence as it would any other problem that impacts your business. Research it, analyze it, identify its impact on your company and assemble the resources necessary to combat it. Joining or forming active task forces is a good model, and the positive image your company and employees will develop is a additional benefit.

Last, I have been asked to identify ways that government can work with business to reduce and prevent community violence. If I may be permitted to brainstorm a bit—I have some ideas to suggest.

They include:

- Expanded tax credits for contributions or in-kind services to 601 C–3 nonprofits working on antiviolence initiatives.
- Government or technical assistance to reduce or eliminate redtape and other bureaucratic boundaries to progress against violence.
- Increased technical assistance to State and city governments to access government funds or other resources more expeditiously.
- Priority treatment for urban-based companies in receiving employment grants or Federal job training funds.
- Tax credits or matching funds to companies for hiring and training disadvantaged urban youths.

and, in a related area:

- Restructure and reform public education to improve student performance, decrease dropouts and increase employability of graduates.

In closing I would remind this committee that violence does more than strike fear in our hearts. Violence robs all of us of our dignity and it especially punishes those least able to defend themselves—our children.

The stakes are the highest ones possible. Our future prosperity as a society depends on our taking action now. Business can and must be a player in this fight—right beside the community, parents and of course, the children.

I encourage this committee and the Congress to support Senator Dodd's bill "The Child and Family Services and Law Enforcement Partnership Act" as an important first step in dealing with this massive problem facing our country.

Thank you for inviting me to speak to you this morning.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. I want to thank this very powerful panel for helping us sort through this. This is news we can all use, and I think it gives us some very helpful models.

First, I would like to ask unanimous consent that Congressman Charles Schumer also be able to insert a statement in the record. He wanted to be here and could not make it.

[The prepared of Representative Schumer follows:]

## PREPARED STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE SCHUMER

I am very pleased to be asked to join today's panel. As chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal Justice, I believe that law enforcement and the criminal justice system must work in close cooperation with other social services to meet the challenge posed to our society by the increasing violence perpetrated both by and upon youth. The testimony that the witnesses will give today will demonstrate all too poignantly that we need an integrated, comprehensive, approach to ending youth violence, a concept that I support.

Unfortunately, violence now permeates every aspect of the lives of all too many children. Even schools do not offer safe havens from violent conflict. Patrick Daley's P.S. 15 is in my district, and I have mourned the tragedy of his death along with his many young charges, two of which are here today.

My Safe Schools Act authorizes a $200 million grant program for increased security measures at schools and for much needed student mediation and victim counseling programs; antiviolence curriculum and counseling, including gang-oriented programs; and, substance abuse education and prevention. My bill also strengthens the Gun-Free Schools Act and the Drug-Free Schools Act. Clearly, children can't learn in fear. We must draw the line on crime at the classroom door.

I am also an originator and ardent supporter of the community policing concept, which is so important in bringing the police together with neighborhood residents to address youth violence. New York City, and other communities around the country, have done a marvelous job initiating and testing this concept. Now we must expend these model programs so that every police department has the personnel and resources to meet the special needs of the communities they serve.

Providing the training and resources for early intervention sounds expensive, but it is a perfect example of the old adage "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." We have found that by targeting at-risk populations with services early in the cycle of violence, we can reduce and even prevent incidents that lead to much more expensive prosecutions, incarcerations, and rehabilitation programs later. In light of the fact that only 7 percent of all youth account for 79 percent of the serious, violent offenses committed by youth, targeting our resources makes sense both programmatically and fiscally.

Any initiative to help end violence among our Nation's youth must include gun control. Introduction of the Brady bill is a very important first step toward the goal of making childhood gun free. When I introduced Brady, I stood with a number of high school students who told me about the impact of violence on their lives. We are all aware of the shocking statistics—40 children are killed or injured by guns in the United States each day—but hearing the personal stories of these young people touched me more than any statistic ever could. The Brady bill will benefit all Americans, but its impact on ending youth violence is one of the most important reasons for passing the bill.

Again, I extend my thanks to, and support for, the professionals and young people who will be appearing before us today. In addition, to the young people who are here to tell us about the terrible impact of violence on their lives, I extend my personal pledge. I will do everything in my power to pass the Brady bill and my Safe Schools Act, and to support any other legislative measures that I believe will help end the violence. We owe you a future that is free from fear. Only if we provide you with such a future can we expect you to be the future of this Nation.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Now, let me yield to Senator Dodd for questions.

Senator DODD. I thank all of you.

I think Congresswoman Schroeder described it accurately as a "powerful panel." Each of you has brought a certain energy and dynamic to this. David Carson and I know each other very well, and I wish that every member of the business community were as sensitive and caring. I have worked with this gentleman on so many issues over the years, and he is deeply committed to his city. So I am just so pleased that you are here today and can bring a knowledge base to it that is critically important, and real leadership, I must say. I don't expect the other panelists to be aware of it—maybe you are—but last year when Bridgeport was on the front pages of every newspaper in the country as a major city in bankruptcy, there was the temptation of a lot of people just to take flight. And David Carson rolled up his sleeves and went to work. That's the distinction, and we are pleased that you are here with us today to talk about how business leaders and community leaders can really get involved in trying to bring these things together.

I'd like you to pick up on the community policing idea, and you have talked about it, Mr. Pritchard. It is the basis of the legislation that I'll offer this afternoon on the floor of the Senate. I have seen it work. I spent a day up in the Hill section of New Haven, which is the tougher side of town, and where that substation is in place, there is a community center. The community uses it. The police officers are now known by people in the community. Their best sources of information are people in the community. This doesn't require brain surgery. This is basic, common sense stuff that goes right to the heart of what you are talking about, Doctor, and that is intervention and prevention, before something happens. It is already working very effectively.

I wonder if, maybe starting with you, Doctor, you might comment on this, and then you, Mr. Marshall—and Ron, if you could also get in on this. This is the idea of—and I don't know if you are familiar with what we are talking about—the idea of bringing the police in, not just to catch the criminal, but to stop violence from happening in the first place. And I don't mean just by doing good police work, but by their relationship and interface with the community.

Did you ever meet a policeman other than one you ran into because you were doing something wrong? Did you ever know a cop?

Mr. FOX. They tried to act like they were on our side, but they would just talk to us, you know, to bribe us, or to make us think that they were on our side so they could get more information about the big-time dope dealers.

Senator DODD. But in terms of any effort to really——

Mr. FOX. No, I haven't met anybody like that.

Senator DODD. Doctor, do you want to comment on this?

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. I think the concept and practice of community policing really gets into prevention. It uses that part of our law enforcement system that can really help us deal with the prevention of the problem. And I am encouraged by it.

I think the difference between New York City and Los Angeles right after the verdict in the Rodney King trial was the difference between Daryl Gates and Lee Brown. Lee Brown had been an advocate of community policing, and New York is one of the places where the concept has been taken to heart. But when you have the same police policing the same communities, in visible ways, and the community people know their names, there is an accountability, there is ability to get into prevention, not just responding to crimes.

So I think it is a very, very good concept.

Senator DODD. Are you familiar with the New Haven program?

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. Only superficially. I have heard it described briefly, and it too sounds like one—in fact, it sounds like one of the premier programs from what I have heard where police have taken it to heart.

In Boston, we have tried community policing, and hopefully will fully implement the concept. We have sort of dabbled around the edges of the concept. So there are full implementations and partial implementations, and I think we have to be careful to make sure that what we really are talking about is the prevention aspect of policing.

Senator DODD. I agree.

Joe, do you want to comment on this?

Mr. MARSHALL. I'm not really familiar with this particular program. I think that anything that will help the strained relations between the police and any community, particularly the black community, is good. So if this is a good program, and it can help in those areas, I think that it's something that should be looked at.

I hasten to add, however, that without other intervention strategies directed directly at the people, the constituents, I don't think it's any good; I really don't. I think it's just one piece of the puzzle, but you've got to have the other piece of the puzzle, many more pieces of the puzzle, to complement that, because if that's not in place, this won't have nearly the effect that you would like it to have.

Senator DODD. What are the hours of your boys' club?

Mr. MARSHALL. First of all, let me say we call it a boys' club. Some people describe it as a program, but it is really a family. I want to say that. What we do is we become family for everybody that we come into contact with. And we are actually with them daily. We have certain days that we do certain things. We have meeting nights. We go into jails on certain nights. We do the radio program, and we reach out to people on certain nights. So it's really a 24–73–65 sort of thing, which is what your family is; even though you are here, I know you are still with your family.

So it really is a comprehensive sort of all-encompassing family thing, and with different components that operate at different times.

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. If I could just add, each of the persons who stood earlier has similar kinds of programs and efforts, and the successes are an important part of this testimony. And I was really struck when Mr. Marshall said that they were fundraising to send these kids to school.

Can you imagine if a police officer had to fundraise to get a car, or if we had to fundraise to get new bars at the jail cell? These are the things that we have to do, and these programs are stretched.

They spend a lot of time fundraising. And that doesn't make a lot of sense; it really doesn't make a lot of sense.

Mr. MARSHALL. Let me just say one more thing about that, since you mentioned it. I know in California—and Maxine may know these figures—it costs somewhere between $30,000 and $38,000 to house Ron in a penal institution. I could send him to Grambling State University for $6,500 a year. So you're losing money. [Applause.]

Senator DODD. That point gets made all the time.

We raised this with others, and I'm just curious. I realize we are talking about pieces here, and I think that's important to note. Anyone who comes up with the silver bullet for all of this, I'd like to meet him, but I think it is far more complex than that, and there are pieces of it, and we're trying to pull those pieces together in an effective, intelligent way. But in terms of why we have seen such a dramatic increase in violence—and there are a lot of reasons people have offered here—I have raised the issue of the proliferation of violence young people are witnessing and viewing. I wonder if you'd comment on that.

Doctor, could you respond to that as part of the contributing factor?

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. I think children who experience violence and who witness violence, particularly in their early childhood development, are at highest risk. And I think this is the factor that causes even street violence to cut across class and race and geography in this country.

If you have a President who says, "Make my day," and "Kick butt," which we have had and fortunately do not have now, and then you watch the superheroes who say, "Make my day," and "I'm going to kick your butt," and then you go home to parents who are using violence and tell you to use violence, there isn't a message at all in your experience that says there are alternatives, there are different skills to handle problems; that in fact, nonviolence can be powerful and productive.

Those children are at greatest risk, and a lot of us when we talk about media violence say, "Well, I just don't let my child watch it." Well, that's not enough. That is not enough, because there are some children who don't have parents mitigating those influences, and even at higher risk are children whose parents are using violence as well.

Senator DODD. I just want to underscore that last point, and then I'll be glad to yield to my colleagues.

I have a sister who teaches at the largest inner city elementary school in the State of Connecticut, the Fox Elementary School, where she is an early childhood development specialist. And she has far too many kids; she has about 20 to 25 she's dealing with on a daily basis, which is nuts. And recently, in fact, she was out buying pencils and paper and toilet paper for her classroom, by the way, because the local budgets don't have the adequate resources for it. But she would tell you that four or 5 years ago she may have had four or five kids who had serious developmental problems. Today she'll tell you she has four or five who don't in that group, and that these children are far more fearful about going home at night than they are coming to school, that home, or at least the home setting and the communities and neighborhoods, have become violent places to such a degree that they are traumatized by it. These are 4 and 5 year-olds. And I suspect again—we've talked about Bridgeport, we've talked about Hartford, Maxine has talked about Los Angeles—and this is being duplicated everywhere. There is nothing unique about these communities at all.

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. One of the suggestions I made in my written testimony is that we teach parenting skills. Parents are stressed. And even in my situation, which is a fortunate situation—I have a husband who is helping; over the last 8 years, we have had one of our mothers living with us and get help; we have a whole church community that helps—even in those situations where there are resources, it is a very difficult job. It is hard to mitigate these influences that are coming from outside of your family and sometimes even outside of your community.

So that if you think about those who are less prepared for parenting, in part because they didn't have good parents, and nobody ever taught them how to parent, you can imagine how stressed and how difficult it is. We should stop leaving that to chance. We should teach people how to do that very, very important job.

Senator DODD. Just to give you an idea, families today are working, on the average, 29 days more a year than they were 20 years ago. That's a month loss of just being with each other—and that's assuming there are some good influences going on there. But even if there are those present, and all the intentions are right, and all the skills are there, if families are together almost 30 days less a year, it's just that much more difficult.

Pat.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you.

Congresswoman Waters.

Ms. WATERS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and Chairwoman Schroeder. Let me first apologize because I am going to leave, and I wanted very much to be here when Marian Wright Edelman gave her testimony, except that I know where she is coming from, I know her contributions, and if I am not here it is not because I don't want to be here, Marian, but rest assured that you, a long time ago, helped to engage me in these concerns about our youth and our young people.

Let me just leave the panel by sharing with you Ron. I am so glad that you are here, because you are the one I have been trying to put a face on for this Congress. I have been trying to describe this young black male, somewhere between the ages of 16 and 29, who doesn't fit the summer youth jobs training program response of this Congress. [Applause.] I am so glad that you are here, because I have been trying to identify your anger and your rage. And I don't want a point to be missed that you shared here today. When people are trying to find out where your anger and your rage come from, I know, because I know a lot of young men that I have worked with who describe to me the kind of anger they have at this society and all of us because they have been in situations where their mothers were on crack, where they have watched the abuse of their mothers, and they have been raised in situations that other Americans don't understand.

And if someone questions why you were angry when you walked in the house and saw your mother on crack, then they really don't understand that you certainly were capable of killing a whole lot of us. And there are a whole lot of young men out there like you; not only have they seen and been in situations where their mothers were abused or strung out, but many of them have become breadwinners through the sale of drugs, who support the other siblings in the family, who help to pay the rent in this underground economy that has kept these families going when we were pulling out all of the support services over the past 12 years.

I am so glad that you are here, and you've got to show up more and more and more.

Let me just say to Dr. Prothrow-Stith and to Mr. Carson, the community policing cannot work unless you've got some social workers and some others in the system to connect people with that you find in the street. Don't believe that somehow, even if you get community policing to be able to mediate and to talk to folks, that when you find a young man like Ron on the street, that just because you met him and you talked to him that somehow you are going to change his life.

What you need are support services and what I call mainstream lifestyle management resources to go along with community policing, job training, and school and stipends to keep them in there. Believe me, I know what we need. I know the answers.

I am so convinced that what you and I are trying to tell them about how to solve these problems will work. But keep on saying it over and over and over again until it finally hits home somewhere.

Let me just close by saying that all of these pieces will work if we can ever move this Congress to understanding what you are trying to desperately to say to us. Ron is going to be successful. The mother that he didn't have, he has found in you, and he talked about you, and I know what that means, as we mother countless young men out there in the streets in Los Angeles where we are trying to mainstream them.

I know what you have to do. By the time Ron reaches you, his life has to be undone. We are spending countless hours just trying to get the system to understand. We can't even put them in job training until we clean up all the warrants, traffic warrants, and all that stuff that goes along with driving a car without a license. We can't get them from one place to school, from school to job training, until we go through all of this.

The job training that President Clinton is talking about won't work without the life management skills support systems that you are providing.

I wish I had a magic wand and I could light up the heads of the members of the Congress of the United States of America to make this work. It won't, and we'll keep digging, and we'll keep trying. And they are going to get tired of me because I'm going to be saying it over and over again. We have brought some more young people here. We have tried to have them testify. We have brought them during the Congressional Black Caucus weekend. And two of our young people, Hi-T and Ray-Ray from the 'hood, just opened a sporting goods store with the help of some businesses in Los Angeles. Hi-T was incarcerated for 10 years, tried as an adult when he was 16 years old for murder, was released and was back in a second time. But I want you to know whether it was right or wrong, true or not, he is now an entrepreneur.

We spent so many hours with him, and guess what? Whenever they pick him up on the street—and if you live in the hood and you are a black male, I don't care if you are right or wrong, going to church or to the laundromat——

Mr. Marshall, you're going to get picked up.

That's right. They're going to pick you up.

Ms. WATERS. They have a number where they can call. The judges in Los Angeles are sick and tired of me because if I am not in court, my staff is in court, and we get them released because those that we are working with are trying their damndest to stay on the street and do right, but we don't have a lot of support to do it.

But I am convinced, and I'm going to die trying, and I think there are some other members who will do it—just keep educating them, because we don't know very much of anything.

Thank you very much. [Applause.]

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you, Maxine. That's wonderful. Innate shyness is not your problem. We are glad to have you here, and we are glad to have you educating, because we've got a lot of work to do together.

Senator Kassebaum.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Maxine is a tough act to follow.

Mr. Marshall, I was impressed with a comment you made about staying with the program, that you don't give up; you follow through.

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes. In fact, my codirector has a saying that we always use, "You never give up, you never give up." And it's a lifetime commitment is really what it is for me and the people who are involved in the program. In many ways, we are trying to replace a lot of what has been missing in the young men's and young women's lives. Really, when there is something wrong, you can do one of two things. You can repair it, or you can replace it. And what we feel we do very well is we replace some of the missing parts in their lives, principally the mothers and the fathers that they don't have.

And it is important, because if you don't do that, they will only recreate the same situation they came out of. I want to emphasize why you see Ron here. I could have filled this room easily—easily. In fact, I can get on the phone right now, and in 24 hours I could fill this room. But the point is we have been able to "empower"—that's a buzzword, but it's a good word—a number of people within our reach—and I have to say that because not everyone is within our reach—but many people within our reach to do precisely the same thing. It's too bad you don't get to hear the radio show, which is actually the most popular show on Monday night in the Bay area, where a young person will call up and say—and it's hard to believe it's over the radio—"I've got a gun, and I'm getting ready to do something. Can you please talk me out of it?" And we have actually—you're shaking your head, but it's true——

Senator KASSEBAUM. No, I'm not. I think that's a good idea.

Mr. MARSHALL. —we have been able to stop acts of violence in five minutes over the air. And the beneficiary is not only the person who is getting ready to do something, but the person who is listening and is thinking about doing something.

And the key word again is commitment. You just go every week, you go every day, and you treat every person—and this is not a cliche—you treat every person as if they were your own child. What you want for your child, we want for everybody. And with that attitude, it really becomes very, very simple.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Well, I think the radio program is a great idea, a very creative one.

I'd like to ask, though, for instance, with Ron, what is your stake in the program? What commitment do you make when you are part of the program? When you start out, is there a requirement or a set of rules to which you have to commit?

Mr. FOX. No drugs and no alcohol is the first thing, and that's something I did all the time. Go to school every day. I go to work every day. And I put all my effort and time into the boys' club now because I feel that that's my family now. My home wasn't with my family. My home wasn't telling me to go to school every day. They weren't telling me to do my homework. The boys' club is my family. Every member of the boys' club is my brother or my sister, and these are my parents.

Senator KASSEBAUM. If indeed someone doesn't follow that, does the program respond in some way?

Mr. MARSHALL. It's funny, we started out with all kinds of rules, and we made this up as we went along—if you miss three meetings, then you're out, all those sorts of things. But we have finally come up with this family. If you have a child of your own who doesn't do what you may like at that particular time, we don't exclude them—I hope not—or maybe you might, at least for a time—from the family. They are welcome at any time. You want the sinners to come into the church, and in that sense, there aren't any requirements, and we are with them for life.

It operates on many, many different levels. There are really no hard and fast rules. We have a couple of nonnegotiable values, and they are no drugs and stop the violence. Those are the two things we preach over and over again, and we call them nonnegotiable.

You know, it is interesting, if somebody is doing that, everybody knows it; they know it. They are honest, and they are up front. Kids really don't lie to you, they really don't. They are very honest with you. And we're always there. The light is always on here, and it really has an effect on a community. There are so many negative images out there, negative things that go against that. For this to be a beacon, a beacon for positivity, really has a tremendous effect upon everybody in the community whether they are actually members of the boys' club or not, because word gets around.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Thank you very much.

Just briefly, Dr. Prothrow-Stith, you are assistant dean of the school of public health at Harvard. I am a strong believer in public health service, and I have thought back to the days when there were the visiting nurse programs that were used a lot as a contact within a community, and we have talked a lot this morning about having a stake in one's community, and community policing and those support services.

Do you think there is any merit—and I think we ought to enhance the professionalism of the public health service—in giving greater focus to visiting nurse programs as being a part of reaching out and establishing more personal contacts within a community.

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. I think visiting nurses represents a kind of model that is very much hands-on. I think one of the problems with such models is that often the people who are visiting are literally visiting into a community out of which they don't belong. And by that, I mean if we can get people from within a community, trained in public health services, and they then are offering those services within the community, then we have a model that works a lot more effectively. And in some instances, visiting nurses are so much outside of the community that they are requiring police to come into the community with them when they come.

So I think it is a model that has worked effectively. In the public health service, you get physicians in places where there aren't physicians, you get nurses in places where there aren't nurses, but somehow we have to bridge the gap such that it's not so much visiting but really belonging.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Yes. I wish we could really go out and aggressively recruit and train in our schools of public health so that visiting nurses are there in the communities. I think it is a profession that has somehow been diminished to a certain extent over the past years, and we need to recruit again.

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. During the years of the very, very tight nursing shortage, people were going to the Philippines to fly nurses over, and going to Korea to fly nurses over, and I'm thinking we've got children graduating from public high schools without a career track—not just girls, but boys—who could be very much involved in the health care professions and serve that shortage.

So if we could connect our professional needs within public health and service community needs, I think we have a program that could really work.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Well, I think there would be real interest here in trying to be support of trying some of those efforts.

Commissioner Pritchard, I'd like to ask you if you are familiar with the "Weed and Seed" program that was talked about last year quite a bit after Los Angeles?

Mr. PRITCHARD. Yes, I am.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Do you feel it has been productive, and are there ways to improve it?

Mr. PRITCHARD. Yes, I think it has been productive. One of the things that you mentioned before—we were talking about the area of community policing, public health service from within. One of the things I'd like to talk about just a wee bit is that our experience is that if we were able to recruit from the inner city where people have a stake in their community for our police department, we feel that we could be much more successful in our efforts in terms of community policing.

Now, something that Congresswoman Waters had said before, I just want to stress again, and that is that under community policing, it has to be a cooperation between not only the police department and the community, but also the other health care providers and service providers for community policing to work. It has to be an overall effort.

Senator DODD. Could I just ask you to yield on that point? That was an important point, and I'm sorry Maxine is not here. The title of the bill is "Child and Family Services and Law Enforcement Partnership Act." Community policing, as we have been talking about, involves the social service agencies, and I'm sorry she missed that point. It is critically important. Community policing isn't just a cop saying hello; it is the relationship between the child and family services and the law enforcement operations, working with the community. That's how it works. That is community policing.

Mr. PRITCHARD. You are absolutely right, Senator. So many times, people misunderstand community policing. It is not a panacea that is going to cure all of the ills in the inner city, but it most certainly is a step in the right direction. The idea in essence is to get our police officers out of that radio car where essentially they are invisible to the community and have them on a steady beat where they are accessible. What we stress is problem solving policing, so that the officers can go into a community and, in partnership with the community, solve those problems that that community has, thereby lessening the response, if you will, that the police will have to give to that particular area—actually having an effect on crime in terms of not just arresting people over and over again, but curing the problems in that area that create crime.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator DODD. That was the point, and thank you for making it. Sometimes when we talk about community policing, we fail to describe it in enough detail. The title of the legislation, though, includes child and family services.

Pat?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you.

Deborah, it is so wonderful to see you again. I have been on panels with you, and boy, you never want to follow her.

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. It's so good to come here and see three women up there representing these issues—and Senator Dodd, it is always a pleasure to see you again and to appreciate your commitment to these issues.

Thank you.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. One of the things I wanted to mention is that you were so eloquent about prevention, and you are right. In the 1980s, we didn't do anything about intervention. The idea was that if we had capital punishment for parking violations, we would straighten up America, and all of us would shudder when a crime bill came to the floor because it became a bidding war as to who could be the toughest. And obviously that did not get us where we wanted to go.

So we are very hopeful now that we have an administration and a new attorney general, for once, who has worked in criminal justice. It is going to be an amazing day, and maybe we can talk about intervention strategies.

You were talking about different levels of intervention. Have you seen any other intervention strategies that have not been mentioned today that we might think about?

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. I think for children who are in classrooms and have families that are pretty intact—and I mean single-parent and two-parent families—skill-building in the classroom on handling anger is an important part of what we need to do. We need to address the media industry and its responsibility for the promotion of violence and the brainwashing of our children around the success of violence.

Peer mediation within high schools in particular has turned out to be an excellent strategy because most of these fights have a history, and people know what is happening, so they train students, young men and young women, who watch the escalation and intervene before it gets too far.

There are grassroots strategies of parents who are survivors, who have had children lost to violence, and they remind me of Mothers Against Drunk Driving. We have Brenda Mohammed here from Atlanta, Mothers of Murdered Sons; we have Clementine Barfield from Detroit, one of the oldest such organizations, SOSAD, Save Our Sons and Daughters; Barbara Lowe is here, from Mothers Against Violence; MAD DADS is here.

These organizations are going to do the kind of testifying and lobbying and political pressure. So almost at every angle that you can imagine, all of the strategies that we have used to prevent smoking or drunk driving, those are the strategies that are being tried successfully. And I am somewhat optimistic because we do have Marian Wright Edelman, the Children's Defense Fund, a new administration, this joint subcommittee. We are excited about where we are right now, and I think we will fulfill Ron's hope that we take care of children a lot earlier.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. And building on Senator Kassebaum's question, I think the Healthy Start Program in Hawaii is one that every State wishes it could implement, because I think intervening with families in the hospital as the baby is born and building a community support system makes a lot of sense.

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. That's right.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. I was so moved by your statement, Mr. Pritchard, about how strongly you felt about Ron, and yet I read a lot of tension about how difficult it is for the police to feel that strongly about Ron. I have a feeling that when he was on the street, he didn't really believe any police officer cared very much about him—he is nodding his head very strongly. How do you break down that culture, because it seems to me the culture of the police force is not to trust him, but to incarcerate him. I mean, we're talking about a much higher intervention strategy than jobs. Maxine Waters is absolutely right. We are talking about a family, which Mr. Marshall has really worked very hard to put together, a very intensive amount of resources and fundraising, and that takes an incredible amount of energy and effort.

How do you do that, because the police force doesn't have the time to do that.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I think it has to find the time to do that. It is easy for me to identify with Ron. I grew up in the inner city. I am a black man, and this is a black youth. I want to see him succeed. I don't want to see him incarcerated. Every time I hear statistics about more of our kids in jail than in college, it angers me. I don't want to have that anger. I don't want to feel that anger from within.

As I said before during my testimony, there were times in the earlier parts of my career where I cradled a young man like Ron in my arms and watched the breath and the life leave that young person.

I don't think that any individual, especially a black person, in this country, because our children are so at risk, that we should have to be subject to that type of mental anguish. These are experiences that I have had over a lifetime that have stayed with me. I want to see him succeed because his survival means, in essence, my race's survival. So it is important to me, and it should be important to all men, that he succeed and that he survive. For this country to survive, we are going to depend on whether or not it is people like Ron who do make it. If he doesn't make it, we aren't going to make it as a nation.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. It is wonderful to hear your words as that trial is going on in Los Angeles today. It is wonderful to know that there are police officers who feel that way.

Thank you very, very much for being here. We really appreciate this panel's appearance, and I think it has been very helpful to all of us.

Senator DODD. Ron, I mentioned to Wayne, and I hope you'll do it as well—you are a very articulate young man, and that is a burden now, in a sense. You understand this, because silence is the worst sin of all for the person who is knowledgeable and aware. My hope is that you will find ways in which you can express yourself as you have here this morning. You can do an incredible amount of good. Maybe you don't appreciate how much good you have the capacity to do just by speaking out, being out there, and talking to people. I can't emphasize that enough. I wish I could better articulate my sense of the power you have to influence people.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. That's right. Peers will listen to him and not to us because we have so much gray hair. I think that is the bottom line. But thank you very, very much. We really appreciate this panel.

Senator DODD. Thank you. [Applause.]

Mrs. SCHROEDER. There is only one person on this planet who could possibly follow these two panels, and that is Marian Wright Edelman. [Applause.] We all know Marian, and we know what a tremendous, tremendous effort she has made.

She has been the founder and president of the Children's Defense Fund. It is an active national organization, but as you have all been around this city, you will notice that children's voices are not heard in this city very often, and obviously she has always got a constant uphill battle. She has a terrific background; I think most people know that.

Joining her this morning are——

Ms. EDELMAN. They'll come up and sit with me, Brenda and Clementine.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. —Brenda Mohammed, who is the president and founder of Mothers of Murdered Sons, and Clementine Barfield, who is the founder and president of Save Our Sons and Daughters.

We are very honored to have both of you here, and the good doctor before mentioned your good work. So we are pleased to have you.

Marian, thank you for giving Senator Dodd and me the idea to have this hearing. This is really your children.

## STATEMENT OF MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN, PRESIDENT, CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND, WASHINGTON, DC

Ms. EDELMAN. Thank you for having this hearing, and I hope we never have another hearing like this again. It is shameful that we have to have 7 year-olds come in and 5th graders come in to tell you how afraid they are because we are not keeping them safe from guns.

It is shameful that we have to have all of these mothers and fathers and young people from around the country who are struggling out in the communities, who have lost their children, to come here and ask for help. So I just want to thank you, but you've got to do something to keep our children safe.

I don't for a moment believe that the $1.1 trillion arsenal that we have and the over 800,000 national, State and local law enforcement officials in this Nation cannot keep its children safe to and from school and in their homes. So the first thing we have got to do is to get this country to make the commitment to stop the senseless killing of children. And we want to say to you we are going to do whatever we have to do together. And yesterday another 250 black leaders from around the country came here to announce a Black Community Crusade for Children, but we are determined to do whatever we have to do to stop the senseless violence against our children, and to prevent violence, and to put into place the positive alternatives that can give them hope and a sense of a future, so that commitment is what is basic.

Never have we seen the senseless killing of children. Never have we seen the combination of guns and drugs and violence that we are having here with our young people, not only in our inner cities, but in our small towns and rural areas. Nobody is safe. So that safety issue is fundamental. Nothing more graphically illustrates the moral tumor growing on the American soul, and so if we have to fight the NRA, we have to fight the NRA, but we must stop the killing of our children, and we are committed to doing that.

Second, we have got to talk about preventing violence. So the first thing we've got to do is give children hope, make their neighborhoods safe, give them a good head start, give them decent health care, nutrition, and a stake in the society from the time of birth on. So the second thing this Congress has got to do right now, quickly, is to pass the child investments in the President's economic package, to do it quickly so that these communities can have the funding to go out there and provide the recreation and the education and the places where children can grow, to have jobs and job training, and to do it in a comprehensive way.

Amen to what Maxine said, but they need the resources. Pass that whole package. Don't touch these child investments in that package, and make sure that these children can begin to get a sense that you can invest in them. This Congress is preoccupied with the deficit. There are two deficits you've got to address—the human deficit as well as the fiscal deficit. So pass that package. Don't tough those Head Start moneys, those health moneys, those nutrition moneys, those summer job and recreation moneys, so that these people can have a way to do what they want to do, which is to give their children hope and positive alternatives. So we've got to prevent it, and hope is the way we are going to prevent this.

The third thing is that we've got to stop the guns. You all have got to pass the Brady bill and all these bills. You have got to get the guns out of the hands of children and youth. We cannot have children killing children and adults killing children. It is just absolutely shameful. I don't think I believe what I heard this morning. We have got to have gun control. If we want our children to grow up respecting and valuing human life, then we have got to respect and value theirs, and turn their neighborhoods and schools back into zones of safety.

Fourth, I thank you for your new act. I want you to get it in here quickly. We are going to work with you to try to pass it. We fully endorse and want you to fully fund the Family Investment Act and the job training reform amendments as well as the Children and Family Services and Law Enforcement Partnership Act which you have put in. It would encourage cooperation between youth and mental health organizations, law enforcement agencies, in order to provide timely counseling and support services for child victims and witnesses of community violence. It would augment police services and community policing programs.

Only with these kinds of measures as part of a broader, comprehensive package that puts our families back together, that preserves families, that gives our children an early head start, that gives them the health care we need are we going to be able to turn this shameful situation, this shameful war against children, around.

I hope you will pass that Brady bill. The President said, "If you pass it, I'll sign it." Pass it so he can sign it, so we can at least begin to get a start.

We've got a number of bills pending—the Federal Firearm Licensing Act; the Gun Theft Act; the Bullet, Death, Injury and Family Dissolution Control Act; the Multiple Handgun Transfer Prohibition Act of 1993, and the Strict Liability for Safer Streets Act. And I hear that Congressman Serrano also introduced the Classroom Safety Act, which would provide $100 million in Federal grants to help local school districts develop and implement programs to prevent violence. We've got a lot of things here. I hope we can just begin to just move them.

Every day we wait means another three American children get murdered. I just don't know how we can tolerate that. I mean, have we become so morally dead that we can sit here and not act as little children are killed by guns? So the point is to act. We are here to work with you. We are going to build a movement or whatever it takes to provide an alternative voice to those people who still want to see the proliferation of guns. But you have really got to act. You have got to act immediately. You have got to act comprehensively. You have got to give our children hope and the investments that they need. You have got to give these people who are struggling out in these communities the tools to do the job they want, so the children are not on the streets, so that you can multiple and go to scale the kinds of extended families that are here. But let's put into place the groundwork for a strong, early childhood foundation for every child.

Let's get the family preservation bill passed. Let's get that economic package passed with all these summer moneys so that these people can go back home and give these children some sense of concrete hope. And let's just get the guns off the streets and out of the hands of children right now.

Thank you for what you are doing. We are here to work with you, and we are going to work with you until we get it done. [Applause.]

[The prepared statement of Ms. Edelman follows:]

## PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN

Today we have heard from a panel of children about the pain they suffer, and the fear they experience, as a result of this Nation's epidemic of violence. We have heard Brandon tell us about the violence he already has witnessed and been subjected to in his 7 years; we have heard Tiffany and Megan tell us about the grievous loss they suffered when Patrick Daly, their role model and protector was cruelly and arbitrarily taken from them; we have heard Liany tell us about losing a friend to community violence and what it is like to exist with the daily fear that she will not live until it is time for her to go to college; finally, we have heard from Wayne about the loss he has suffered as a result of gun-related violence, a loss that literally will make every day of the rest of his life a struggle.

They have spoken here today for the large and growing numbers of children whose lives have been blighted because we adults have failed dismally in our most basic responsibility—to protect our society's children from violence. How much longer will we tolerate the senseless deaths of our Nation's children? How much longer can we simply stand by and watch as young children by the classroomful hold up their hands when asked if they have witnessed a killing or know someone who has been killed or injured? In the United States, it is easier to purchase a gun than it is to get a driver's license, and it is easier to keep a gun than it is to keep a car.

Gun-related violence takes the life of an American child at least every 3 hours and the lives of at least 25 children—the equivalent of a classroomful—every 3 days. In 1990 alone, guns were used to kill 222 children under the age of 10, and 6,795 adolescents, teenagers, and young adults under the age of 25.

Besides the children killed by guns, the National Education Association reports that about another 30 children are injured every day by guns. The Harlem Hospital in New York has found that the majority of children admitted with gunshot wounds already have lost a family member to a fatal, gun-related injury.

Since 1988, teenage boys in the United States generally have been more likely to die from gunshot wounds than from all natural causes combined, according to the National Center for Health Statistics. And, in a mere 3 years—between 1987 and 1990—gunshot wounds among children ages 16 and under in urban areas nearly doubled, according to the National Pediatric Trauma Registry.

Nothing more graphically illustrates the moral tumor growing on the American soul than our acquiescence in this senseless killing of innocent children. No other industrialized nation even approaches the United States' incidence of firearms-related violence. According to the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence, in 1990, handguns were used to murder 13 people in Sweden, 91 people in Switzerland, 87 people in Japan, 68 people in Canada, 22 people in Great Britain, and 10 people in Australia. By comparison, handguns were used to murder 10,567 people in the United States. And, even handguns cannot kill or injure fast enough for the nearly 1 million private owners of semi-automatic weapons.

The deadly combination of guns, gangs, drugs, poverty, and traumatized and hopeless youths is turning many of our inner cities into zones of destruction and despair and our neighborhoods and schools into corridors of fear. For thousands of inner-city youths, the American dream has become a choice between prison and death. In fact, prison has become a more positive option than home and neighborhood for many youths who see no hope, no safety, no jobs, and no future outside prison walls. A Latino youth told a CNN reporter that he just hoped he could grow up and "go to prison and not be dead."

Homicide is the leading cause of death among Black youths ages 18 to 24. According to the Centers for Disease Control, between 1984 and 1988, the murder rate of Black youths between the ages of 15 and 19 rose by 100 percent. And, a study in The New England Journal of Medicine found that young men in Harlem are less likely to live to age 40 than their counterparts in Bangladesh.

However, it is not just poor or Black children who are at risk today. Nor is it just children in the large inner cities. Countless affluent and middle-income white and brown and Asian-American children, like their poor and minority counterparts, are so adrift that they turn to drugs and alcohol, as well as to the violence we market incessantly to them. Just in the last 2 months, The New York Times has published two separate articles on gang-related violence in communities we normally might consider safe havens: Little Rock, AK and Wichita, KS, as well as even smaller communities in Kansas. Garden City, a western Kansas community of only 24,000, has 7 gangs, at least one of which was running a crack house. Johnson County, an affluent Kansas City suburb, has 16 identified gangs, with at least several hundred members.

Our schools have become zones of fear and danger instead of places of excitement and nurturing and genuine learning. During a single 6 month period in 1988–89, more than 400,000 students were victims of violent crime at school. A 1990 survey of students at 31 Illinois high schools revealed that one in 20 students had carried a gun to school. California schools reported a 200-percent increase in gun confiscations from students between 1986 and 1990. In a 1987 survey of high school students, 48 percent of tenth-grade boys and 34 percent of eighth-grade boys said they could get a handgun if they wanted one.

In New York City, arrests on gun charges of youngsters ages 10 to 15 increased by 75 percent between 1987 and 1990. Astonishingly, a recent Northeastern University study found that arrests for murder of boys 12 years of age and under doubled between 1985 and 1991.

Our urban and suburban war zones are, unsurprisingly, a real-life reflection of the American worship of violence, which has become a leading national pastime and prime-time obsession. Violent acts are the daily fare of millions of children who watch TV an average of 21 hours per week. TV Guide reports a violent incident is shown, on average, every 6 minutes.

It is hard for us to imagine the fear, anxiety, daily burden of stress, and loneliness of the huge number of young children who, each day, navigate a dangerous no-man's-land peopled by armed gangs, drug dealers, and nervous youthful gunslingers seeking to preempt death by first strike. It is hard for us to imagine, but it is absolutely essential that we do so if we are to save our children and our Nation. While human beings can learn to tolerate some degree of threatened violence and fear so long as there is purpose and hope of change, the chronic, unrelenting assault we are subjecting our children to, and letting others subject them to, is unprecedented and profoundly immoral. Experts have described the impact on many of our children as similar to the post-traumatic stress disorder experienced by veterans of Vietnam. We will pay now and later as they pay with their childhoods, with their dreams, and with their lives.

We have heard today about some of the programs that we now are working to curb violence. We heard from Dr. Prothrow-Stith about the need for school-based violence-prevention programs, including antiviolence curricula, dispute resolution programs, and peer mediation programs. We heard from First Deputy Commissioner Pritchard about community policing. We heard from Mr. Marshall about the prevention of gang-related violence through tutoring, "college readiness" courses, and job training and placement programs, as well as through the provision of family like caring and support. Finally, we heard from Mr. Carson about some of the steps that the business community can take when it commits to neighborhoods as well as to the bottom line. And, it is worth noting, when businesses adopt good social policies today, they also are implementing a good long-term economic policy because the medical costs associated with firearms-related injuries are simply staggering. We spend at least $1 billion annually on hospital costs associated with the treatment of individuals who have been shot and who, frequently, have no health insurance.

Our first task is to encourage more people to get involved in, and to start, more programs like those that we heard about today and which we know are capable of providing children with nonviolent alternatives. We also must protect our children from violence perpetrated by adults, and teach our children how to grow up into nonviolent adults. Otherwise, we will never break the cycle of violence.

If we want our children to grow up respecting and valuing human life, we must begin by respecting and valuing theirs by making their neighborhoods and schools zones of safety and nurturance rather than zones of fear. We must encourage every school to adopt antiviolence and conflict resolution curricula, as well as other school-based violence-prevention programs. We also must encourage our religious congregations and work places to begin study and action groups in order to find ways to curb the violence rampant in our communities.

In addition, we must prepare every child for school and provide better, safer schools that are ready to teach and support every child. And, we must provide job training and apprenticeship and college preparation programs so that, when our children grow up, they can work for their share of the American dream. If we expect families to teach children the value of hard work, we need private and public policies that provide work and make it pay—policies that allow parents who work hard to support their family above the poverty line and get the health care and child care they need. In short, we must address not only the destructive symptoms of violence, but also its underlying causes: the absence of hope and opportunity, the absence of strong families and communities, and the absence of a sense of the future.

However, even if we were to institute all of these changes, children would still be dying as a result of gun-shot wounds. We must effect the long term changes, but we also must recognize that long-term changes take a long time to work. As the American Academy of Pediatrics has argued, the only way we will be able to reduce the number of children who will be killed tomorrow, and next week, and next year is by creating an environment in which children are safe to be children, an environment in which a black eye or a cut, rather than multiple bullet holes, will be the consequence of a spat. This means that while we wait for community-based, church-based, and school-based violence-prevention programs to curb the incidence of violence, and while we work for and wait for investment programs to give new hope and opportunity to America's children, we must work—and not wait—to reduce the lethality of violence.

There is only one way to do that—by getting guns off our streets, and out of our schools, and out of our homes. As President Clinton said just last week, "[not] everybody in America needs to be able to buy a semiautomatic or an automatic weapon, built only for the purpose of killing people, in order to protect the right of Americans to hunt and practice marksmanship and to be secure." Disarming Americans is a public-health emergency, similar to a resurgence of smallpox or plague. We know how to inoculate ourselves; we just have to do it.

This is not a matter of civil liberties. Nor, is it a matter of criminal justice. This is a matter of public health. Prison walls are bulging with the 1.1 million inmates that make us the world's leading jailor. Yet violence continues to escalate along with prison costs. All our jails cannot protect us against injustice.

In order to address the root causes of our Nation's epidemic of violence, we must work to implement the programs that we know will help protect children from violence. First, it is absolutely essential that, this year, Congress pass legislation to fund fully the Head Start program and once again pass the Child Welfare and Family Preservation Act, which President Bush vetoed last year as part of the urban aid/tax bill. Head Start offers children and families comprehensive services and a safe haven while assuring that children enter school ready to learn. The Child Welfare and Family Preservation provisions are designed to help families nurture, protect, and support better their children and assure quality out-of-home care for those children who cannot be protected at home.

Second, I urge you and Congress to pass—and fund—the Family Investment Act and the Job Training Reform Amendments, as well as the community policing bill that Senator Dodd intends to introduce shortly. Only with these kinds of measures will we fulfill our obligation to provide our children with positive, constructive, and nurturing alternatives to violence.

Third, I urge you to pass all the currently pending gun control legislation, namely, the Brady bill, the Federal Firearm Licensing Act, the Gun Theft Act, the Bullet Death, Injury, and Family Dissolution Control Act, the Multiple Handgun Transfer Prohibition Act of 1993, and the Strict Liability for Safer Streets Act.

In addition, just last week, Representative Serrano introduced the Classroom Safety Act, which would provide $100 million a year in Federal grants to help local school districts develop and implement programs to prevent violence. Among others, these could include service programs for school staff, conflict resolution training for students, and drug-prevention or antigang efforts. I urge you to pass that bill as well.

We must help this generation of children who seek self-worth denied then by unstable family lives, by unchallenging schools, and by communities that give them no sense of belonging and too little positive purpose. Too few adults exemplify and communicate clear, consistent standards of acceptable moral and civic conduct.

We personally and collectively must struggle to reclaim our Nation's soul and to give back to our children a sense of hope and security, a belief in American fairness, and an ability to dream about, envision, and work toward a future that is attainable and real. We must fill our children with the joy and the promise of life, not the lack of opportunity and the crippling fear that so many encounter. We must stop the violence so that, while they are children, our children have the luxury of being children, and so that they may have the opportunity to grow up to be healthy, productive adults.

Senator DODD. Marian, thanks once again. We have worked together on so many other efforts in the past, and if we can have the same batting average we have on other issues, we'll do all right on this one as well.

By the way, the organizations that are here today, we have gone through some battles in the past, and let me just be very blunt. We talked about child care issues, and we worked our heads off for 5 years on that. What ultimately made the difference in child care legislation was that people gave a damn out in the streets and in the communities. And I'll lobby up here, and we'll go door to door, and we'll put up the charts and graphs, and we'll cajole and beg and so forth. But until people themselves talk to their own representatives and their own members of the Senate about these issues and how much they care about them, I find with all due respect that people get hounded every day by a lot of different constituencies on a lot of different issues, and their ability to absorb all the different concerns that people have is definable, I suppose. And if they don't hear from people out there about how important these issues are to them, and specifically what they would like to see done, then I find that much does not happen. You get great op ed pieces in newspapers. You can go on TV shows until you are blue in the face talking about this stuff. But until people go to town meetings, call offices, show up at functions and say this is something we really care about, and we want you interested—I saw with our family and medical legislation the difference when, all of a sudden, people across the country cared about it. We spent 8 years working on it, and it was only in the last few years when people finally said it was something they really wanted that we got action.

So I just want to underscore the point that you've made, and Maxine made earlier, and that is the value of having these people here today, but more importantly, that they go back out there now and write those letters, make those phone calls, and talk to people about this, because that's the way we'll get the 51 votes here in the Senate and the 217 in the House that are critical.

Ms. EDELMAN. I just want to say to the people in this audience who have come here—and we're going back to have lunch and figure out what we do next—I want them to know that you all have gotten the job done. It took us a long time. They said we couldn't do comprehensive child care legislation—well, you got it done, and I just want to thank you. The Family and Medical Leave Act took a long time, but you got it done, and I want to thank you. And it came out of the mobilization of lots of people.

And we are here to say today that we are going to work with you to get this done. We represent 90–100 communities, and yesterday we had every key network from every black community, and we are going to work with every key network in the black, white and Latino community, because over the last 2 years as we have begun to try to put together a Black Community Crusade for Children, the issue that came up over and over again was the violence and the safety issue. So we know we've got to go back home. We know we've got to let them begin to hear about violence and violence prevention and about child investments, and we are committed to doing that. And I do hope that this year will be the year when we keep our promises to do something about this tragedy, so that they aren't out there struggling by themselves without an ability to give young people hope.

What is different today with our young people is that they don't have a sense of hope that anything can get better, and that is just unforgivable. So we are going to go back and go to work with you, and I think we can make a difference this year.

Senator DODD. Let me just raise a couple of questions with you if I can. One is that we did not get through—and maybe it's a blessing that we did not—the so-called crime bill last year. Just the title of it kind of defies the theme we have been talking about here today. That is going to come back again. In fact, the reason it didn't make it last year was because of the Brady bill. There were too many votes opposed to the Brady bill, and as a result, the crime bill died. But we didn't do enough in that bill. We talked about doing again the broad concept of community policing, and some of the other ideas that you have mentioned, legislatively.

It might make some sense to talk about that in the context of this crime bill that is coming up, to take a lot of these ideas and to have them incorporated as part of that vehicle. It is just a thought I am having here as we are talking about this—changing the direction and mode of that particular vehicle, for which there are a lot of resources that have been made available. I mean, people's frustrations are being expressed, and that is one vehicle that clearly is going to move. So I just raise that with you as an idea to perhaps discuss with Senator Biden and others on the Judiciary Committee, and we can work with them in the House as well, to talk about that as a vehicle.

The question I want to raise here is that obviously, we were all very impressed with Mr. Marshall and Ron, who are sitting behind you. How do we get more "Mr. Marshall's" involved? I appreciate the fact that he did get involved. It is a remarkable commitment. How can we encourage more of that, and what can be done?

Ms. EDELMAN. That is what the Black Community Crusade for Children is designed to do. We had all the church leaders here, denominations, the women church leaders, all the youth leaders. We met all day yesterday, and I guess I would like to put as a part of the letter—and we will submit it later—to let you know what this Community Crusade is going to do, because we are rebuilding our black extended community family to place our children first. Every church leader, every sorority, every fraternity, every black school teacher, every black police officer—we are going to become that family until we can rebuild our nuclear families, but we are going to stop what is happening to our children.

We recognize that we face one of the worst crises since slavery, and it is time to do something about it. And we came here yesterday to announce that we are going to do something about it so that there will be thousands of Mr. Marshalls. Every child should have a place to go after school, on the weekend, in the summers. Every child should have a mentor or a tutor. Every child should have a school that cares for him.

And the most exciting that happens and that is happening with this Black Community Crusade is that the black young people themselves are now starting their own black leadership network. Black college students are going to go out into the communities this summer. You have got LEAP in New Haven and BRIDGE in New Haven, but they are going to Oakland and Los Angeles and North Carolina, and black college students are going to be out there trying to feed children, but to mentor and tutor and give them a sense of esteem and culture, and give them a positive alternative.

Leadership development is key. We are now going to make our children understand and feel that they are as important as they are, and we have called on every black and white adult to begin to understand that we have got to rebuild our family for our children, and that is going to happen. We haven't had a gathering of black leaders like we had yesterday at Howard in my adult childhood since the civil rights movement. The new movement of the 1990's is for all of us to come together, to put the social and economic underpinnings under every black, brown, and white child so that the promise of the civil rights laws for every child can become real. So we are going to do that. The black community is going to do its part; the Latino and the child advocate communities of all races are going to do their part. Now the Congress has to do its part so that we can take care of our kids. But we are going to do that.

Senator DODD. And the audience ought to know that you don't just talk a good game. I should say to the audience that I had the pleasure of working with Marian's son last summer in a program called LEAP, in New Haven. And I don't know if Dave Carson is still in the room, but it was the private sector in New Haven that raised about 98 percent of that money. Students at our local colleges worked with junior counselors from high schools, training them how to be counselors, moving into the projects 24 hours a day—they didn't just show up at nine in the morning and leave at five—and they did a remarkable job. Last year, it was 200 kids. This summer, we are going to have 400 in New Haven involved in that program, and they did a terrific job.

Ms. EDELMAN. They did.

Senator DODD. And that is your child, Marian, who was involved in that, and you ought to be very proud of him .

Ms. EDELMAN. He's terrific. Thank you.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. She raised him right.

Senator DODD. And Peter played a part in that, too.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Let me just say one more thing. I want to thank you for saluting everybody and reminding them that we've got to make sure Head Start, immunizations and the WIC program stay, in this investment package because, I think both of us could tell you, there is a bidding war for who can cut the most right now without thinking about what they cut. And history has shown they always cut Head Start and children first.

So thank you for wearing your button and pointing that out, because that's the first thing everybody can do as their take-home exam, to make sure people don't do that.

When we had the crime bill up last time, we tried to put in Midnight Basketball, we tried to put in law enforcement family support—I got beaten to death by George Will for Midnight Basketball. But I appreciate what you said, because I think that we need to help build community resources so that people don't have to spend all their time doing fundraising—it is a great bargain for the community, it is much cheaper to do that, and that ought to be what we are spending our money on.

So we'll be making that same impetus if a crime bill starts to move, and I think we'll have an attorney general who is there.

And I can't emphasize enough the NRA as well. Coming from the West, I think I am the only one west of the Mississippi who votes for gun control, and Soldier of Fortune always prints my picture with a bull's-eye on it, which I never appreciated. But I think we may have to start the chant of, "Hey, hey, NRA, how many kids were killed today?" I think that's one of the things we're going to have to start doing. We're going to have to play hardball the way they've played hardball, because I am tired of them winning. We want to win. It is just too important.

Thank you for being here, and thank you for all your effort. [Applause.]

Ms. EDELMAN. Thank you.

Senator DODD. Thank you.

[Additional material submitted for the record follows:]

## ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

Holley Galland M.D.
254 Nelson Drive
Baton Rouge, LA 70808

March 9, 1993

Patricia Schroeder, Chairwoman
Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families
385 HOB Annex 2
Washington, D.C. 20515-6401

Dear Representative Schroeder,

When I heard you speak last year at the Society for Adolescent Medicine meeting in Washington and saw you briefly as I took your advice and went to the hill to lobby, I never thought I would be sending you a picture of a child from my family. Yoshi lived with us in a safe and quiet neighborhood, called me "Mom", cooked us strange suppers, and danced his way into our hearts. He was shot and killed in another quiet neighborhood while looking for a party.

The children I work with in the community stay inside after school to be safe. They hear gunshots outside their windows at night. It is no way to grow up sane. But I didn't think the child who lived in my own house would be the one shot and killed. This epidemic of violence, fear and mistrust is in every neighborhood. All Americans and their friends will benefit from your work. Thank you. Galland

Yoshi Hattori

Died Oct 17 1992

AFS Student from Japan

254 Nelson Drive
Baton Rouge, LA 70808
December 17, 1992

Dear Friends and Colleagues,

On October 17, we received a call from the police that we all dread. We were told that our son Webb is ok but our other son, our AFS exchange student Yoshi Hattori from Japan, had been killed. The boys knocked on the door of the wrong house believing that they had arrived at a Halloween party. Thus began an abrupt change in our lives.

Our first response was to tell Yoshi's story to everyone who would listen; we wrote an essay which was published in the New York Times and gave about 40 media interviews. We believe that the story will raise the consciousness of our country and touch a nerve; it certainly has in Japan. Our second response now is to circulate a petition as the Hattoris are doing in Japan. We are writing to ask for your help in this effort.

1.5 Million

The Hattori petition to the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Japan asks Americans to "Tighten the controls on individual ownership of firearms". They already have ~~800,000~~ signatures. The Hattoris delivered 40,000 signatures to the Bush Administration via the US Ambassador to Japan, Mike Armacost. Prime Minister Miazawa met with them also.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

We have started the enclosed petition in the US in the same spirit as theirs. We have launched it through all contacts we can find: including purely grassroots efforts like this and through newsletters, newspapers and large and small national organizations. We both expect to get millions of signatures. This could culminate with the Hattoris and us and possibly high profile public figures in the battle against gun violence, presenting the petitions to President Clinton ~~sometime in the spring~~. Both petitions are from the heart, not attempting to lobby specific legislation. Both petitions are really asking the American people, through their president, to find a way to deal with this scourge. This personal tragedy can be a springboard for discussion of ideas far beyond the actual event. If all goes as planned there will be follow-up of more substantive efforts. We feel the opportunity afforded by a huge ally of millions of Japanese people must not be lost.

in 1993

There are three ways in which you can help:

Would you please consider circulating the petition among your friends and colleagues. To those of you who feel very strongly, we urge you to take it to your community organizations, churches and synagogues. Also would you please consider copying this letter and the petition and writing to your friends and colleagues. Of course one signature would be appreciated. If you would like to help in this larger way we welcome you to our effort.

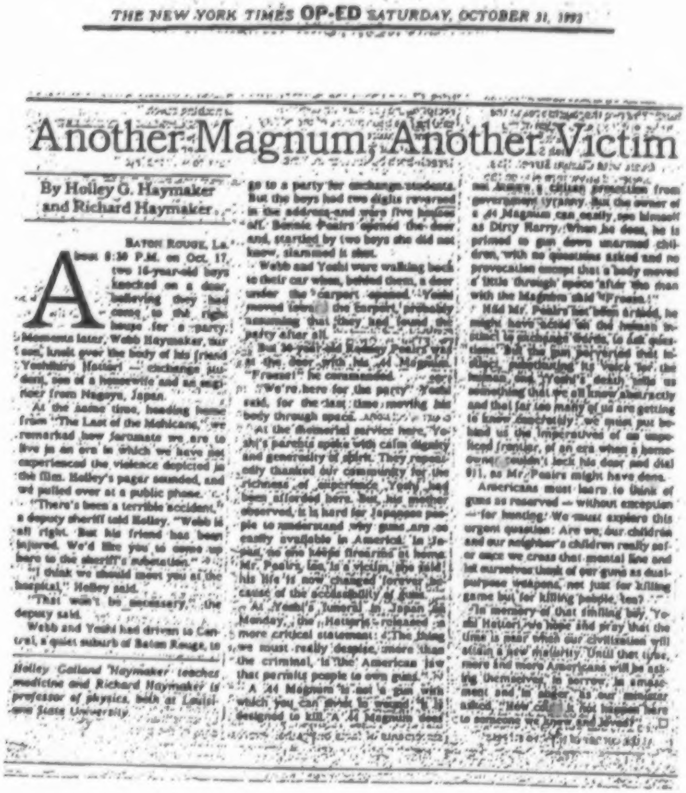
Getting this petition to select individuals is another key to the success of this drive. We have found people who are extremely upset over the proliferation of gun violence in this country and are very anxious to get involved. We have met a number of such persons. One person whom we met will blanket a number of large cites very effectively. Would you please try to think of individuals who might be key in this drive and contact them and get the petition and my phone number to them.

Third, if you think of an appropriate newsletter, or organization that might publicize the petition as a postcard campaign please call us.

Our sincere thanks,

Holley & Richard

Holley Galland Haymaker
Richard Haymaker
(504) (h) tel:766-6432; (h) fax:769-3810; (o) tel:388-8471; (o) fax:388-585



THE NEW YORK TIMES **OP-ED** SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1992

# Another Magnum, Another Victim

By Holley G. Haymaker and Richard Haymaker

BATON ROUGE, La.

About 8:30 P.M. on Oct. 17, two 16-year-old boys knocked on a door, believing they had come to the right house for a party. Moments later, Webb Haymaker, our son, knelt over the body of his friend Yoshihiro Hattori — exchange student, son of a housewife and an engineer from Nagoya, Japan.

At the same time, heading home from "The Last of the Mohicans," we remarked how fortunate we are to live in an era in which we have not experienced the violence depicted in the film. Holley's pager sounded, and we pulled over at a public phone.

"There's been a terrible accident," a deputy sheriff told Holley. "Webb is all right. But his friend has been injured. We'd like you to come up here to the sheriff's substation."

"I think we should meet you at the hospital," Holley said.

"That won't be necessary," the deputy said.

Webb and Yoshi had driven to Central, a quiet suburb of Baton Rouge, to go to a party for exchange students. But the boys had two digits reversed in the address and were five houses off. Bonnie Peairs opened the door and, startled by two boys she did not know, slammed it shut.

Webb and Yoshi were walking back to their car when, behind them, a door under the carport opened. Yoshi moved toward the carport, probably assuming that they had found the party after all.

But 30-year-old Rodney Peairs was at the door with his .44 Magnum. "Freeze!" he commanded.

"We're here for the party," Yoshi said, for the last time, moving his body through space.

At the memorial service here, Yoshi's parents spoke with calm dignity and generosity of spirit. They repeatedly thanked our community for the richness of experience Yoshi had been afforded here. But, his mother observed, it is hard for Japanese people to understand why guns are so easily available in America. In Japan, no one keeps firearms at home. Mr. Peairs, too, is a victim, she said; his life is now changed forever because of the accessibility of guns.

At Yoshi's funeral in Japan on Monday, the Hattoris released a more critical statement: "The thing we must really despise, more than the criminal, is the American law that permits people to own guns."

A .44 Magnum is not a gun with which you can shoot to wound. It is designed to kill. A .44 Magnum does not ensure a citizen protection from government tyranny. But the owner of a .44 Magnum can easily see himself as Dirty Harry. When he does, he is primed to gun down unarmed children, with no questions asked and no provocation except that a body moved a little through space after the man with the Magnum said "Freeze."

Had Mr. Peairs not been armed, he might have acted on the human instinct to exchange words, to ask questions. But the gun perverted that instinct, substituting its voice for the human one. Yoshi's death brings us something that we all know abstractly and that far too many of us are getting to know concretely: we must put behind us the imperatives of an unpoliced frontier, of an era when a homeowner couldn't lock his door and dial 911, as Mr. Peairs might have done.

Americans must learn to think of guns as reserved — without exception — for hunting. We must explore this urgent question: Are we, our children and our neighbor's children really safer once we cross that mental line and let ourselves think of our guns as dual-purpose weapons, not just for killing game but for killing people, too?

In memory of that smiling boy, Yoshi Hattori, we hope and pray that the time is near when our civilization will attain a new maturity. Until that time, more and more Americans will be asking themselves, in sorrow, in amazement and in anger, as our minister asked, "How could it not happen here to someone we knew and loved?" □

*Holley Galland Haymaker teaches medicine and Richard Haymaker is professor of physics, both at Louisiana State University.*

This op-ed piece was abridged from an essay written by Dan and Rachel Kahn-Fogel, and Holley and Richard Haymaker.

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TO: The president of the United States

FROM: Richard and Holley Galland Haymaker(and friends)
354 Nelson Drive, Baton Rouge, LA 70808

Petition:

**To protest the easy availability of firearms in the United States**

This year we were privileged to be the host parents to a 16-year-old Japanese AFS exchange student, Yoshihiro Hattori. Yoshi's year long stay with us was tragically cut short when, on October 17, 1992 at 8:30 pm, while on the way to a halloween party, he was shot and killed by a homeowner who was afraid.

Yoshihiro's tragic death begs us to look at our country through the eyes of others, and to ask how a democracy at peace can be so violent. We can not help but ask what the man who shot Yoshi would have done had he not kept a gun in the house.

In Japan, where gun ownership is almost non-existent, it is particularly difficult to understand Yoshi's senseless death. Here, we may understand it, but we must not accept it as inevitable.

We therefore call upon the President of the United States to reassess the easy availability of guns in this country and, in so doing, help end the senseless yearly slaughter of thousands of Americans and foreign visitors which threatens the very fabric of our democratic society.

We the undersigned, support this petition in memory of Yoshi and in the hope that his death will not be in vain.

| Name | Address | State | Zip | Signature |
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Mail to Richard and Holley Galland Haymaker, P.O. Box 14839, Baton Rouge, LA 70896

ATTACHMENTS TO TESTIMONY OF JOHN S. PRITCHARD III

## CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNITY POLICING IN NEW YORK

New York City and the NYPD is positioned to incorporate elements of the Child Study Center and the New Haven Department of Police collaborative model utilizing an interagency approach through its existing governmental structures and the Department's Youth Services Division, outlined as follows:

### New York State Agencies

**New York State Division for Youth** - Plans, coordinates and funds a State-wide system of community youth services for the under 21 population, provides for the care, treatment and security of youth placed by the courts in the Division's care and custody, oversees and provides fiscal support for the statewide juvenile detention system and provides fiscal support and technical assistance for adjudicated youth served in voluntary child caring agencies.

### New York City Agencies

**Department of Youth Services (DYS)** - Originally created in 1947 as the "Youth Board", the present Department of Youth Services was established by Local Law 18 in August, 1989. DYS currently provides monies to more than 650 youth services programs throughout the City of New York.

In addition to youth development/delinquency prevention programming, the Agency's mandate includes advising the Mayor and City Council on youth services policy; initiating and coordinating youth programs and monthly activities with other City agencies and appropriate private sector organizations; including Community Boards.

**Youth Development/Drug Prevention Model Programs** - In collaboration with community agencies, the Youth Development Program and Drug Prevention Program provide counseling services in nine areas (three in Brooklyn and in Manhattan, one in the Bronx, Staten Island, and Queens) that cover all or parts of 12 precincts. The Department of Youth Services' Youth Development Program stations a youth counselor at a precinct, to work with the NYPD youth officer to provide counseling and referrals for youth who have committed minor violations. The Drug Prevention Program provides participants with an array of professional services including individual and group drug counselling, family counseling, and community-based, paid work experience. Additionally, outreach workers work with at-risk youths on the streets, making referrals to a wide range of services, including the Drug Prevention Program.

**Office for Children and Families** - Established in January 1990, this Office coordinates the efforts of City agencies to provide services to children and families. Functions include developing policies and programs, acting as liaison between community agencies and city agencies, and representing the City issues relating to children and families.

Increase the Peace Volunteer Corps (IPC) - Created by Executive Order No. 32 in December 1991, the Corps is made up of 1,000 volunteers from all neighborhoods, and constituent groups of the City dedicated to improving relations among groups in the communities in which they live. Trained in conflict resolution and cultural sensitivity skill, IPC volunteers respond to intergroup; crises, as well as work throughout the year to create a series of meaningful opportunities for intergroup collaboration.

Department of Health - Established by Chapter 22 of the New York City Charter, the City's health promotion/disease prevention agency is charged with safeguarding the health and well-being of all New Yorkers. It investigates patterns of disease and other manifestations of ill health, such as injuries and violence, and intervenes to interrupt those patterns and prevent their recurrence.

Department of Mental Health, Mental Retardation and Alcoholism Services - Responsible under the City Charter and the State Mental Hygiene law for the planning, contracting, monitoring, and evaluation of all local mental health, mental retardation, and alcoholism services in New York City. Administers over 860 programs through 338 contracts with more than 200 voluntary agencies, 14 municipal hospitals, the City's correctional facilities, Family and Criminal Courts and the Human Resources Administration. The network of services directly funded and monitored through the Department provides care to more than 425,000 persons each year.

## New York City Police Department

Youth Services Division - Currently staffed with twenty (20) police officers, provides staff assistance and supervision to precinct youth officers who investigate and process all cases of juvenile delinquency as reported on juvenile reports. Other duties include: conducting special outreach programs intended to impact and service large juvenile and youth populations, cooperating with community agencies serving and treating troubled children, assisting other department units in the prevention of juvenile delinquency and youth crime, maintaining information on youth gangs and providing training and assistance in implementing department policies and programs on youth matters.

Periodically, the Youth Services Division conducts inservice training sessions for youth officers, as well as joint training sessions with outside agencies. In the past, members have attended such training at the Post Graduate Center for Mental Health, the Harlem Hospital Psychiatric Clinic, and selected prevention seminars held in New York State and various parts of the country.

There is currently at least one youth officer assigned to each precinct to process and investigate juvenile reports prepared for youths residing in their area of responsibility, develop youth programs, establish liaison with schools, the police athletic league, local community groups and social agencies. In addition, they serve as an information resource to parents and community groups, assist in processing runaways, abused children and obtaining shelter, when necessary.

## Police Athletic League Program

The Police Athletic League was established in 1936 forthe purpose of channeling youthful energies into vigorous andwholesome paths. The major emphasis is directed toward teenagersin high-risk areas where parental supervision and adult guidancemay be lacking. Police officers are assigned to act as liaisonsin each borough between the P.A.L. and the community. The P.A.L.is a part of the Police Department's overall community policing philosophy and seeks to serve youths through year round recreational, social, cultural and educational programs.

## Safe Haven/Helping Hand Program

The Safe Haven/Helping Hand Program has established places of safety along isolated streets and in high-risk areas. The Precinct Community Affairs Officer and Community Patrol Officers, in cooperation with local merchants, homeowners, building superintendents and others, have established "safe havens" where a person may wait or call for police assistance. Those "safe havens" are marked with an easily identifiable decal. Many women, children and senior citizens have avoided confrontation and injury through the existence of these "safe havens" throughout the City.

## Runaway Unit

The Runaway Unit addresses the problem of locating and protecting young people who have run away from family or legal guardians. In increasing numbers, these troubled youths travel to New York City and are often victimized by criminals. The Runaway Unit is responsible for patrolling high-risk areas frequented by runaways. Officers locate and pick up these youths before they are victimized or begin to participate in criminal acts. The Unit's primary concern is returning runaways to their homes. Runaway Unit officers counsel youths about the realities and consequences of their actions, and often advise parents during the difficult reunion process.

## Truancy Units

The Truancy Unit, assigned in each Patrol Borough Task Force, focuses its efforts on ensuring the well being and safety of school age children. Beside the obvious benefits of regular school attendance, truancy units prevent the City's youth from becoming unwitting victims of crime.

## Precinct Youth Councils

Precinct Youth Councils are organized in each of the seventy-five (75) precincts. Membership is composed of young people who live or work in the precinct and who have an interest in youth-oriented issues, programs, and services with which the Police Department can help.

## Operation "Safe Corridor"

Operation "Safe Corridor" was instituted to maximize the safety of our children as they come and go from school. In a cooperative effort with community members, routes were identified and designated as "Safe Corridors". Special patrols by uniformed officers enhance the safety of children along these routes. In addition, the Safe Corridor program focuses on reducing the level of fear experienced by parents and children.

## School Program to Educate and Control Drug Abuse (S.P.E.C.D.A.)

School Program to Educate and Control Drug Abuse was established in February, 1985, as a joint effort between the New York City Police Department and the New York City Board of Education, to fight the drug problems in and around city schools. Drugs are a critical problem plaguing urban society. Their effects on our children have been devastating. S.P.E.C.D.A. addresses drug problems through comprehensive law enforcement activity and innovative educational programs. Although the temptation towards drug abuse is strong and peer pressure is great, we must stress the damaging consequences of drug involvement to children. Through the concentrated efforts of both agencies, S.P.E.C.D.A. provides the support that children need to resist drugs and criminal activity. School Program to Educate and Control Drug Abuse Enforcement statistics to date include 23,863 arrests.

## Borough Special Victim Squads

Borough Special Victim Squads are responsible for conducting investigations of first degree sex crimes and allegations of child abuse involving victims ten years old or less. The Detective Bureau conducts a one week sex crimes and child abuse investigation course encompassing such areas as police officers and crisis intervention and community outreach programs for sex crimes and child abuse/assault prevention.

## Special Victims Liaison Unit

The Special Victims Liaison Unit has the responsibility for monitoring the Sex Crimes Report Line, which is a seven (7) day a week, twenty-four (24) hour a day operation. The purpose of the Sex Crimes Report Line is to provide immediate police, medical, legal, and emotional support to the victims of sex crimes, domestic violence, child abuse, and to their families. This Unit conducts preliminary investigations of cases received on the hotline and cases of child abuse referred by the New York State Central Registry. To increase awareness, the Special Victims Liaison Unit conducts special training on sex crime and child abuse investigations for all police departments within New York City.

## Police-Youth Dialogue Program

The New York City Police Department has initiated an experimental community relations Police-Youth Dialogue Program using a number of police officers from high hazard precincts and a large number of youths age 12 to 18 from the same area. Youths selected are those with a potential for either positive or negative leadership ability. Males are sent to Fort Totten in Queens with male police officers for a day. At the camps the groups engage in sports programs, fishing, grooming sessions, barbecues, and informal talk sessions. A critical factor in the program is the continual mingling of youths and police officers in play, and at meals. Afterwards, under the guidance of a professional moderator, the group meet for a formal dialogue session. During the session the police officers and youths were encouraged to speak openly and frankly about their feelings concerning each other and the community in general.

## Explorer Program

Law Enforcement Exploring is a division of the Boy Scouts of America for young men and women aged 14 through 21. Its purpose is to bring a character building, citizenship training and fitness program to the youth of America. Law Enforcement Exploring provides the opportunity for young adults to explore law enforcement careers, the criminal justice system and to promote character development and citizenship training among America's youth. The New York City Police Department currently hosts 28 Law Enforcement Explorer Posts with three additional posts in the formation stages.

## DEPARTMENT OF YOUTH SERVICES VIOLENCE PREVENTION INITIATIVES

### Street Outreach

Street Outreach Programs are year-round programs existing in 16 neighborhoods. They involve trained and experienced youth workers being assigned, as their regular, daily work assignment, to interact directly with youth who frequently "hang out" on the streets, in order to develop a positive relationship with them. The desired outcome of this relationship is to influence their attitudes, values and behavior.

### Youth Development/Drug Prevention Model Program

The Drug Prevention Model Programs offer both a diversion component and a drug intervention program supported by family counseling and community service. The diversion component involves stationing a Precinct Youth Counselor in police precincts in each of nine targeted neighborhoods. This Counselor works with the New York Police Department Youth Officer to provide counseling and referrals to youth who have come to the attention of the police for minor violations. The intervention component provides an array of professional services including individual and group drug counseling, family counseling and a community-based paid work experience for the youngsters participating in the drug program. In addition, outreach workers interact with youngsters in the streets to engage and refer them to the drug counseling program or to other community-based programs.

### Community/Police Retreat Program

The New York City Department of Youth Services, in collaboration with this Department, will conduct a series of overnight retreats to establish dialogues between community youth providers, youths and police. In each precinct area, the first dialogue retreat would take place between staff of youth-serving programs in the designated precinct and police officers; the second dialogue would be for area youths and police officers. This program will be implemented in eight (8) police precincts during the next six (6) month period.

Senator DODD. The subcommittee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:50 p.m., the joint committees adjourned.]

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